Human Relations
in Educational
Organization

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A Basic Text in Personnel Administration

JAMES MONROE HUGHES

Northwestern University

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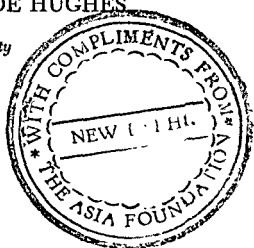
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HUMAN RELATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION:
A BASIC TEXT IN PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

Contents

Editor's Introduction

GRATIFYING, INDEED, is the unprecedented, countrywide upsurge of the democratization of the administration of educational institutions which has taken place in the United States of America during recent years. "Button pushing," "laying down the law," and "issuing orders" happily do not reflect the philosophy and daily action of educational administrators today. Rather, there is a widespread and ever-growing conviction among those who hold administrative posts in our local school systems and institutions of higher learning that "two heads are better than one." Particularly true is this point of view among educational administrators with respect to the formulation of policy.

In well-administered school systems citizens and classroom teachers alike are not only "allowed" but invited to participate in such important matters as the formulation of teacher salary policy, school building programs, and textbook selection. In the formulation of policy there is a growing realization of the sound principle that ideas rather than position demand priority, considerateness, and consideration. In other words, marked progress has been made in the recognition of the inescapable fact that human relations are all-important in reaching a decision as to what action is to be taken concerning matters of major import to a local school system. Regardless of how salutary the social climate, or exemplary the process, in the establishment of policies that may prevail, the question may well be raised as to whether merited, and indeed essential, attention has been given to who should do what—the organization for executing programs for action which have been adopted. Indeed, the ad-

ministrative structure in some school systems seems to make inevitable conflict, irritation, rivalry, and competition appear between and among various staff members of a local school system, not because of the undesirable personal characteristics of the people involved, but because of the absence of sound practice in the formulation of policy and/or failure to develop and maintain an administrative organization which establishes clearly responsibilities, jurisdictions, and authorities in the dispatch of day-to-day business.

Trust, confidence, loyalty, frankness, honesty, the verve that comes from "loving one's work," and an unrelenting habit of appraisal, first of one's own effort as well as the performance of colleagues, which leads to judicious and calm inquiry and constructive and comforting suggestion rather than intolerant condemnation, are some of the major qualities that make for a "team operation" in schools as well as all other organizations of human beings. The presence or absence of human characteristics such as those just mentioned, to be sure, are to a measure developed and maintained because of the "kind" of person an individual is. On the other hand, human qualities or, if one pleases, "the character (nature) of a man" is determined not only by his "inside" but also by the world about him. It behooves any professional worker to be consistently and keenly aware of the fact that he is merely a temporary pawn or agent in the swiftly moving panorama of life. Any worker, especially one in the field of education, is obligated to keep ever in mind that it is his duty to "call things as they are" "according to his lights" in terms of what is best towards the promulgation of the institution he is serving. But the admonition just stated, for most of us mortals, can take place in a local school system only if the administrative policies, action, and organization are such that they tend to develop desirable qualities in and among the school staff. It therefore seems clear that to a high degree the organization of an educational institution is a momentous force in the "kinds" of human relations that develop and persist among the administrative and instructional staffs of a school system.

This volume presents a penetrating and helpful analysis of the interplay between policy, organization, and human

relations along with down-to-earth interpretive and suggestive commentary. It is peculiarly appropriate that this work be authored by the man who wrote it. To an extraordinary degree Dr. Hughes has been an outstanding example in the establishment and maintenance of desirable human relationships. His distinctive service as Dean of the School of Education at Northwestern University proves that he knows how to practice what he preaches. The writer's long association with him in a variety of connections makes it a special pleasure to present this volume to all those concerned with school organization and administration. It is highly probable that there will be disagreement on some of the positions taken by the author; for example, teachers' salaries. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine this discourse not being stimulating, interesting, and helpful to anyone concerned with the administration of education.

JOHN GUY FOWLKES

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Foreword

THIS BOOK is written to give basic understandings and guidance to those who desire to improve human relations in educational organizations. Since the problem of human relations is of vital concern to the entire group associated with any educational organization, the book is written for all these persons. For this reason certain activities such as building salary scales, selecting the personnel, and orienting new members are left for the specialized texts.

The book is designed as a basic text. It is believed that the understandings developed are fundamental to a comprehension of the educational organization in its human relations aspects. The book provides a foundation for any study of specific activities involving personnel relations.

The manuscript was read in its entirety by Professor Eugene S. Lawler, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Professor Theodore Reller of the University of California at Berkeley has been helpful in his suggestions on Chapters 2, 3, and 4. The pertinent criticisms and the encouragement of both these men are gratefully acknowledged.

<div align="right">JAMES MONROE HUGHES</div>

Human Relations
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Improving Human Relations in Educational Organization

INTRODUCTION

All of us desire, of course, that our schools achieve maximum educational results. Those of us who are associated directly with educational organizations acknowledge our responsibility to see that the pupils and students in our schools receive the richest, most fruitful experience it is within our power to offer. Probably no one would question that this is the responsibility of the employed personnel and to some extent of the parents and public in general. What is not so readily acknowledged is that the quality of morale, the degree of group unity, and the kind of relationships which exist among those who participate in the school are significant factors in determining how fruitful and rich an experience we can offer our pupils and students, the quality of our educational achievements. Many other educational factors are part of the picture, of course, but the matter of personal relations within the group is the one important factor which, in the past, has received far too little study and consideration. Inasmuch as the achievement of good relations within an educational organization is a step in achieving the broad goal of maximum educational results, our obligation to provide the best for our pupils and students implies also that we

Individual Initiative

It may seem somewhat paradoxical to say that the problem of personal relations in education is important because relations among members of the group are bound by interlocking roles and also to say that it is uniquely important because much of what goes on in the school situation depends largely upon individual initiative. Actually, there is no paradox. The interlocking roles and individual initiative are equally important reasons for special attention to personal relations in the educational organization. Besides being inextricably associated with children, and others in the school, the teacher in his daily round of duties must depend largely on his own initiative. The school may have a policy, a curriculum may be established, a rule of order enforced. It is the individual, however, who must interpret the policy, the rule, or the curriculum material. The final decision as to how something is to be carried out rests with the individual member of the personnel. No one can tell a teacher exactly what to do. An administrator, likewise, must do what he conceives to be that which he should do. Each must constantly rely on his own judgment. Because his role interlocks closely and complexly with the roles of others, what he does on his own initiative has potentially wide effects upon the general character of human relations in the entire organization. It follows, then, that the problem of improving relations within the school group rests, in part, upon each member of the group. In exercising his individual initiative, each member of the group must be conscious of the effects of his action on the personal relations which are part of the whole group.

DETERRING FACTORS

The influence of good personnel relations on educational achievement is not difficult to accept. Interlocking roles and inevitable dependence on individual initiative clearly make the problem of personnel relations uniquely important in the educational organ-

exert ourselves to achieve the best relations among all those who work together in and for the school.

This means that the educator particularly has a responsibility to give deliberate, careful attention to the problem of personal relations, to analyze critically those features of the school organization which are vitally related to leadership activities, organizational policies, administrative procedures, and participation possibilities. We who are part of the educational group owe it to the profession, to the taxpayers, and most of all to our students and pupils at every level of education, to search conscientiously for the answer to "How can we achieve the best possible relations among the personnel in an educational organization?"

UNIQUE IMPORTANCE IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Interlocking Roles

The quality of personal relations which exists among members of an educational organization has a more direct relation to the achievements of the organization than is generally true of personal relations and achievement in other types of organization. This is in part because an education personnel is characterized by a system of closely interlocking roles, which means that no individual member of the group ever acts in isolation. A teacher is with children throughout the day. He is also, inevitably, associated with other teachers and with various school functionaries. The parents, the homes, and the whole community cannot be excluded from the picture. The dismissal of a teacher, for instance, does not affect that teacher alone. It seriously affects the human relations throughout the school, and sometimes throughout the community. Because of interlocking roles and the resultant typical chain reactions, even what may appear on the surface to be a simple problem of school administration may eventuate into a complicated, comprehensive social problem.

ulations is not in and of itself necessarily an unmixed evil. On the contrary, it may be highly desirable. The trouble comes in when the superstructure is so rigid, so detailed, and so hallowed that the personnel are encouraged automatically to accept conditions as they are, to be resigned, and to make no effort to evaluate critically or move toward change. It is so much easier to live in an old, outmoded organizational structure than to follow a path of action toward improvement!

A feeling of resignation is nurtured also by the fact that custom and tradition give a certain permanence to the *status quo*. Because educational organizations, in general, are public, or at least semi-public, the school and the school community include practically the entire population in more or less direct relationship. Each of us has been and is exposed to school experiences as a pupil, a student in college, a member of the education profession, a parent, or a taxpayer. Certain traditional patterns have been established within this all-encompassing group over a long period of time and changes in the relationships involved have tended to be continuous but superficial.

Our established attitudes toward the educational group as a result of custom may be illustrated by a simple example. If in all our personal school experiences, regardless of our personal capacity in the situation, the school administrator has been the boss, has made the decisions, we tend to take for granted that relationships with any and all school administrators will fall into this kind of pattern. We may deplore some features of the relationships, but because they seem to be static outgrowths of established habits of living, we do not challenge them or give them our serious, constructive thought. We are resigned to them.

We tend to think of our relations with each other within the school and with the group as a whole not as overt manifestations of thought and belief and values but merely as expressions of habitual modes of behaving socially. The important point to remember is that traditional educational practices based on popular, well-established ideas about relations in educational organization may

ization. What then has deterred educational groups from systematic study of the problem and from experimentation and from making progressive improvement in this area? What are the difficulties, what personal factors possibly operate as impediments to a satisfactory improvement of personal relations in the educational organization?

Personal Feelings

RESIGNATION. Often educational personnel hesitate or refuse to attack a problem of personnel relations because of certain personal feelings. In every educational organization there are many who reflect a spirit of resignation. The organization itself incorporates numerous features which obviously make changes in the interest of personal relations very difficult. Various organizational relationships have become crystallized and the organization itself is resistant to modification. An effort toward change would be considered futile.

When teachers are resigned to a passive acceptance of the *status quo*, when members of the personnel are permeated with a sense of futility of effort to effect change, it seems that all who work within the organization are controlled by a sort of superstructure of social norms. Teachers feel ignorant about what their administrators do or should do. Administrators, in turn, are equally at a loss to know what they should and could do in the personal relations area. The superstructure of social norms seems to remove from any single individual the power and the desire to do anything toward change. The superstructure controls rather than the individuals.

The personnel is resigned to this superstructure as it is manifest in daily mimeographed announcements which pour into their mailboxes, in the regulations which emanate from school authorities, in the rules made for the school in which they work, and in the established traditions of the school which have been inherited. These they do not question or discuss. It is far easier to acquiesce despite the fact that knowledge indicates acquiescence is not the path to improved human relations. A superstructure of traditions and reg-

well to remember, however, that those in the press and in politics who make the criticisms are usually not closely related in an organization where face-to-face relationships are the rule. In fact, the soundest, most analytical and constructively valuable studies of political leadership are those made not by fellow senators or other close associates but by scholars who have the advantage of remoteness and usually the perspective afforded by the passage of time. Although a political group and an educational group do not occupy analogous positions, the study of national leadership when Eliot Janeway produced in his chronicle of mobilization in World War II illustrates the point that a study of leadership, even in politics, is and can be accomplished best by those who do not have close-at-hand associations. Because Janeway studied those with whom he was not closely associated he could appropriately make a criticism of leadership such as the following: "Any judgment upon Roosevelt's leadership must allow for the double standard by which he worked. Politically, Roosevelt's performance was professional; technically, it was amateurish." [1]

Janeway's study is an earnest and honest attempt to appraise leadership in a specific area of American life, at a given period of time in its history, and to reveal the nature of the processes which have much to do with improving or destroying the desired qualities of human relationships. Were a member of the personnel of an educational organization to attempt a similar analysis of leadership in his educational organization, the results would not be so sound. In addition the effects of the analysis probably would not be wholesome and the effort might well be deemed inappropriate. A member of the personnel, even though as earnest, as honest, and even as scholarly as Janeway, could not be so detached as Janeway. Criticism of educational leadership within a given educational organization by members of that organization, regardless of position, therefore, cannot, in general, be so penetrating as Janeway's analysis of political leadership. Those who know enough about the

[1] Eliot Janeway, *The Struggle for Survival*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951, p. 9.

have implications of prime importance to educational achievement. Despite the fact that critical analysis of some of the assumptions underlying these traditions may reveal that they are untenable, the tendency is to be resigned to things as they are and to proceed in the traditional manner.

ASSOCIATION. Even if an individual is not resigned to the *status quo*, is not discouraged by an intrenched superstructure and the lethargic effect of custom and tradition in general, there are still personal feelings which might well deter him from any serious attempt to improve personnel relations. We discussed the fact that interlocking roles make the personal relations problem uniquely important in an educational organization. It is also true that the close and intimate relations which are part of interlocking roles discourage effort toward the improvement of personal relations. So closely interwoven are the roles that each member of the staff is loath to scrutinize and to evaluate overtly the manner in which he and his colleagues perform their daily functions. While each may be personally self-critical, members of an educational staff are slow to criticize openly the leadership and group activities of those who function close at hand. And especially is a staff reluctant to criticize openly and constructively the leadership acts of administrators and supervisors when they are individuals who are intimately known, who work close at hand, and who are recognized as well-intentioned. This impediment to an attack on the personal relations problem is especially significant because any real and effective change must begin with the intimate, close-at-hand relationships. In a large city school system it is relatively less difficult to be critical of administrators who are distant in terms of professional and social standing and even geographically. However, such criticism tends to be ineffective and even if changes should result they are unlikely to mean an improvement in the day-by-day experiences of the classroom teacher.

In observing the critical evaluation of political leadership that is characteristic of our American scene we may deplore that the same kind of frank criticism is not possible in educational groups. It is

relations is an important part of the recommended procedure or policy. Conversely, an administrator's suggestions to a union about the possible effects of some one of its contemplated actions may be looked upon as brash effrontery.

FEAR. A personnel member who is not deterred by a feeling of resignation or a natural reluctance to be critical of associates may still be deterred from seeking an answer to our problem: "How can we achieve the best relations among the personnel in an educational organization?" Resignation and ethical reluctance may be only part of the explanation of the intentional limitations in the schoolman's approach to the problem of improving human relations. Why have the personnel of educational organizations spoken so glowingly of the need for improving personal relations in educational organization and then, seemingly, scarcely turned a hand to do anything about it? Why have educators, in general, been satisfied to advocate some glamorized ideal like "equality" or "democracy" and then, in actual practice, violated these ideals most flagrantly?

Most of us can think of situations where practically all the members of the personnel thought conditions were harmful to the cause of good personnel relations, yet no one was willing to initiate concerted action to correct it. Why are educators so chary about discussing and directly examining situations in their organization which have negative and damaging effects upon the quality of personal relations, or to discuss situations which directly and intimately affect them? The answer to these and similar questions lies in part in the fact that analysis of personal relations in any educational organization is limited by a deep-seated, unexpressed, feeling of fear—a fear of reprisal or punishment which might follow action based on the analysis.

Educators, and especially those who teach, are in the main reticent on the subject of human relations in their own organization because they are afraid. They are fearful that their criticisms, if voiced openly, will be taken as personal effrontery and will bring mild, punitive reprisals from others with whom they are associated.

educational leader in question, and the situation in which he acts, to make sound evaluations are intimately associated with the leaders and are themselves involved in the situation. Criticism in educational organization is criticism of one's contemporaries, of those with whom one works and with whom one is intimately associated. Under such circumstances, the personal feeling of association renders it difficult to make a study of relationships which is direct and discriminating.

LIMITED INTEREST. Not only is the educator deterred in any effort to attack the personal relations problem in the school organization by a resignation to a crystallized school structure and an inability to make a sound criticism of current educational leadership because he is closely associated with that leadership, he is also deterred by a natural tendency, a sort of common human weakness to be more concerned with the general aspects of the personal relations problem than with the specific, immediate aspects. This is perhaps another evidence of the tendency to avoid criticism of personal associates who are intimately known and close by. Inasmuch as the specific, the definite in personnel relations, inevitably involves person-to-person associations and attitudes, it is truly personal. Traditionally that which is personal we view as private. This means that an ethical consideration involving the propriety of invading the private is a further deterrent to a study and the improvement of personal relations in the school group.

Get any group of educators together around the luncheon table and they will be quite voluble about human relations in general. If they do become specific, they speak in hushed voices and behave as though they were discussing something ethically to be classed in the realm of gossip. Little attention is directed to specific study of the factors that handicap improvement in the quality of existing human relations. Recommendations to administrators about administration within the organization, for instance, will usually be forthcoming only from a teachers' union or some like organization and even then the matter will be presented in an impersonal report with no analysis given to show that the promotion of desirable personal

clearly stated or not, and that in every professional act they will attempt loyally to preserve them. Where there is a discrepancy between what the community holds sacred and what the educational personnel believe, the personnel naturally, through fear and discretion, tend to avoid that which promises to arouse opposition or open hostility. The net result is a school more or less isolated, a personnel adhering to ideas which tend to be inapplicable to current living, infertile in character.

In the final chapter on achieving participation the simple premise that the school public and the educational personnel must share in deciding what the school should and can do is developed. Perhaps in successful widespread participation fear as a deterrent to action for improving personal relations can be minimized.

Organizational Features

EDUCATIONAL HIERARCHY. As we have said, one of the most formidable barriers handicapping constructive approach to improving the quality of personal relations in educational organization is the persistent loyalty and devoted allegiance school people have to social traditions. In some cases social tradition has become crystallized in features of school organization and is thereby doubly potent in deterring improvement in personal relations. This is especially true in the traditional organization of the American school, at all levels, in a hierarchical pattern. This means that personnel and functions are classified and assigned to places on a scale marked by gradations in prestige, salary, and privileges.

In this case we not only tend to follow comfortable procedures because they are well understood and have been cherished practices of preceding generations, we also adhere to a custom because we are restricted or protected by it to such a degree that we are discouraged from any effort to challenge it. The hierarchy is reinforced not only by custom and tradition but also by a bulwark of vested interests. Those who enjoy the advantages of a high place in the order will hesitate to advance the cause of human relations along lines which jeopardize their relative positions. Those who are

Such reprisals might originate in the community, with a board of education, with administrative officers, with supervisors, with fellow teachers, or with the membership of some powerful organized group like a church or an American Legion post.

While it is true that freedom of discussion and expression are theoretically the universally accepted rights of educators, educators fear to test this freedom. As some outstanding writers have shown there is a very real basis for this fear.[2] Many bitter controversies waged in recent years on every university campus in America and the defense of educators at all levels against frequent organized attacks have centered mainly around the question of freedom versus control.[3] The rights of educators to have a measure of freedom are frequently in direct conflict with the rights assumed by those who exert administrative, civic, or social authority.[4]

Certain similar limitations upon freedom to teach exist also at the high school and elementary school levels. For instance, social studies teachers in high schools and junior colleges must be circumspect when they select curriculum materials if such materials are likely to exemplify some value which deviates markedly from the social viewpoints established in the community. Some community groups are vocal in their opposition to teachers who criticize local government, or the state constitution, or otherwise indicate what to them appear promising paths to local or state social progress. Although communities vary in their willingness to accord to the educational personnel a reasonable degree of freedom of interpretation, most typical American communities look upon the schools as a kind of house of protection for what they believe to be the revered essential traditions and customs. They assume that the educational personnel know what these are, whether they have been

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[2] See, for instance, Francis Biddle, *The Fear of Freedom*, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1951, pp. 155–181.

[3] For a candid and persuasive study of the forces which threaten academic freedom in our universities see Robert M. MacIver, *Academic Freedom in Our Time*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

[4] See Robert J. Havighurst, "The Governing of the University," *School and Society*, March 20, 1954, pp. 81–86.

the educational organization, we may be handicapped by an organizational hierarchy involving gradations which have little or no justifications other than human pride and selfishness perpetuated by custom.

STRESS ON EFFICIENCY. Another organizational feature which has handicapped progress in the personal relations area has been the current stress on a kind of mechanical efficiency in the schools which looks upon efficient performance as an end in itself without sufficient cognizance of the success of the performance measured in terms of the achievement of broad, long-term results, including satisfactory human relations. The teacher-librarian, for instance, sees efficiency as it is reflected in a logically organized, smoothly operating library without reference to its broad potential service to teachers and students. The office secretary methodically collects a great deal of information and is more concerned with the collection than with the possible services such information might serve. Teachers prepare and submit well-written reports without being able to see how these reports are of service to them or to others. The principal of a school may strive for a kind of efficiency which is manifest in those immediate, practical, concrete results of the school's work which can be described to the parents and which will enlist public support but he may not give adequate consideration to the amount of work he has added to the teachers' burdens.

Efficiency rightly interpreted is a natural corollary to wholesome personal relations. In evaluating efficiency the cost in good human relations must be included in the calculations. A concept of efficiency without personal warmth or sincere educational purpose is a concept of motion rather than of direction. To strive for efficiency is a worthy goal of every educational organization, but the goal must be for a kind of efficiency which, as it achieves a worth-while product, promotes at the same time happy and satisfied personnel.

Unfortunately, many educational organizations created years ago to serve a formal, symbolic kind of instruction have, in general, been changed only in terms of this kind of mechanical efficiency. They have not been sufficiently changed over the years to conform

not in the so-called high places will be given freedom and encouraged to work on such problems as curriculum improvement but will encounter discouragement and frustration when it comes to redefining the organization in the best interests of personal relations. As the profession has interpreted the hierarchical principle of social organization in educational organization, the organization itself has become one of the most difficult barriers in progress toward achieving the more generally accepted features of desirable social living: group collaboration, maximum functional coordination, functional leadership directed toward maximum group contribution rather than toward power and control.

Adherence to the hierarchical principle of organization *in extremis* is responsible for class attitudes in educational organization. Classifying groups of educational personnel and the resultant attitudes characteristic of the various groups and toward the various groups add greatly to the difficulty of making a constructive approach to improving personal relations. Teachers in the elementary and secondary schools are most seriously affected. Despite the fact that these teachers admittedly render *the* vital service of the educational enterprise and undoubtedly perform the most difficult of its functions, traditionally, they are paid the least, have fewest special privileges, are accorded less voice in the establishment of organizational policies which vitally concern their welfare, and sometimes are disparagingly rejected by the school public in favor of administrators and other special functionaries in the school system who outrank them. Actually, the picture of the classroom teacher as an economically insecure, somewhat emotionally unstable, physically unattractive individual is an outgrowth of our traditional acceptance of a kind of organization which puts the teacher on the lowest, least desirable educational position as far as prestige and salary are concerned and which, by its very nature, makes change extremely difficult. This does not mean that we may ignore the great need for high-level skills to bring about the effective channeling of coöperative effort toward productive goals. It simply means that in our attempt to promote the improvement of personnel relations within

fore, be trained to develop and make use of an "objectivity" about the data in a sense that makes possible identical observations by men of very different social training. . . .

In observing social phenomena, however, both aspects are different. The facts under observation may change materially from life time to life time in little-understood ways, and the "subjectivity" of observations becomes a nagging problem. . . .

Furthermore, the success which has been obtained in the natural sciences, where the factors observed are in a certain sense "outside ourselves" has led to many attempts at "objectivity" in the same sense in viewing social data. The difficulties of this attempt have become increasingly evident, and a suspicion seems to be growing that such "objectivity" is not only impossible but even undesirable. . . . *We are inevitably part of any social situation which we are observing and, no matter how we minimize this part, we do change the situation by our presence.* . . .

The fact that we interact with the social phenomena which we are observing need not deter us from the attempt to understand the effects of that interaction.[5]

As Cabot and Kahl point out, all study and investigation in a field involving social phenomena must proceed in the face of certain difficulties. The nature of the educational organization presents an additional difficulty when research which bears upon human relations is commenced. Much of the research in personal relations in educational organizations must be action research. Action research has certain limitations. By its very nature it tends to be less scientific than pure research. In pure research an investigator recommends what his research indicates should be done. In action research in personnel relations he is expected to go one step further and to attempt to do what he finds should be done. That is, action must follow study before one can decide whether the suggestions have any validity. In other words, whether action research in the field of personnel relations in educational organization possesses any considerable value depends upon the results one achieves when he attempts to use the findings as a basis for a plan of action to improve personal relations. This kind of research is perhaps more

[5] Hugh Cabot and Joseph A. Kahl, *Human Relations*, Vol. I, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. xx, xxi.

to modified and novel demands. They not only do not serve to improve knowledge—at least knowledge about what is vital to building and maintaining wholesome personal relations in educational organization—they actually handicap progress in that direction.

Dearth of Research Materials

Besides being deterred by various personal feelings and certain unfortunate features of the traditional educational organization, he who would attack the personal relations problem in the school situation may find the dearth of pertinent research materials discouraging. Neither the subject of organizational theory nor human relations in educational organization has received much serious attention in professional literature. Published material, often based upon expertly conducted investigation, is plentiful and helpful in many other and varied aspects of educational work such as school law, taxation, buildings, school finance, transportation, and salary scales. In the field of personnel relations in educational organization, however, scientific investigation and fruitful literature to supply positive, dependable direction are relatively scarce. This is, no doubt, partly due to the difficulties in satisfactorily developing such materials, partly to the educator's preoccupation with far easier and more definite problems of organization, and partly to a lack of interest in and awareness of the problem of personnel relations in educational organization.

The difficulties in satisfactorily developing such materials are described by Hugh Cabot and Joseph A. Kahl in the book *Human Relations* when they discuss the difficulties which beset research in any part of the area of human relations. They state the difficulties as follows:

The observation of social phenomena on which to base a methodical understanding has certain inherent difficulties not present in the observation of the natural sciences. First, the concrete phenomena of natural science remains comparatively stable over a long period of time. . . . Secondly, in the natural sciences, we as observers are not closely involved with a large part of the phenomenon we are observing. We can, there-

schools because we are encouraged to proceed by certain features of the school organization which are advantageous to this kind of study.

Concern

First of all we find encouragement in the evidence of an expanding interest in the problems of human relations, especially among those academic groups engaged in a study of communication, group psychology, social biology, and in the establishment of institutes for the study of human relations. Numerous universities offer courses in such fields as group dynamics and human relations. All these efforts are stimulating, encouraging, and helpful to the educator from the nursery school through the university who may wish to utilize the broad general findings of these academic groups in making specific applications, building practical skills, and making the knowledge functional in concrete situations. Progress by the academic groups has been in advance of the practical groups, and it is this discrepancy which may provide challenge and encouragement to the school group.

The contributions of the academic groups is somewhat like the contribution of the historian to the specifics of present-day living. The historian is interested in world-wide problems, or local problems seen in terms of world-wide and long-term ramifications. His conclusions, therefore, tend to be general and the "application of intelligence" is the final step left for the practical worker to apply. James Harvey Robinson, for instance, believed that history could throw considerable light upon the problem of human relations in the world in general.

When we contemplate the shocking derangement of human affairs which now prevails in most civilized countries, including our own, even the best minds are puzzled and uncertain in their attempts to grasp the situation. . . .
. . . Many reformers . . . are confident that our troubles result from defective organization. . . . No one will question that organization is absolutely essential in human affairs, but reorganization, while it some-

difficult to do than pure research which may terminate with its findings. It must also be done, not alone by the professional research worker, but also by those who are personally involved in the actual workings of the educational organization. It is probably because of the difficulties peculiar to carrying on research in the human relations area of educational organization that we find such a dearth of dependable research materials to serve as guides to more intelligent action.[6]

ENCOURAGING FACTORS

Handicapped by certain inevitable personal feelings among educational personnel and by some organizational features and by a dearth of appropriate research material, why continue to search for an answer to our question: "How can we achieve the best possible relations among the personnel in an educational organization?" First of all, of course, as we have said, we proceed because we face an obligation to do all we can to improve personal relations in the school organization. We have an obligation to do all we can to promote the happiness and welfare of the personnel because we have their interests at heart. We also want to promote good personal relations because that is part of our basic obligation to the children and pupils in our schools. It is only when we do our best to promote good personal relations in the classroom, the school, the school system, and the community that we are doing our best to provide the most desirable and most fruitful environment for the children and students.

In addition to the pressure of an obligation assumed, we pursue our search for an answer to the personal relations problem in the

[6] For a critique of traditional research methods in education and for a defense of the kind of research known as "action research" see Stephen M. Corey, *Action Research to Improve School Practices*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953. See also John A. Ramseyer, *Factors Affecting Educational Administration: Guideposts for Research and Action*, Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, The Ohio State University, 1955, pp. 4–5 on "The Nature of Research in Educational Administration."

desirable living possible under the conditions in which they find themselves.

In some cases the public will be a valuable ally for the educator seeking to improve personal relations in the schools. This may be in part because the school personnel is an educated group, and because their education is the result, in some measure, of an investment of public funds. The public expects that the costly investment will produce individuals who are equipped both by their philosophy and by their practical skills to exemplify higher types of socially desirable living. In the main, the public will be interested and encouraging in seeing the personnel in any educational organization study, experiment, and make progress in the field of personnel relations. Of course, as we have already pointed out, where certain vested interests are jeopardized by personnel relations improvements, whether the effects are felt in the school or in the community, instead of whole-hearted support the educator may expect mild reprisal. Nevertheless, the educator may count on a measure of public support because the public is interested in a good return on its investment in the education of the school personnel.

Common Goal

The fact that a school group shares a common goal is another factor which is encouraging in the attempt to improve human relations within the educational organization. Members of educational personnel, of course, work for salaries. Like every other employed group they must earn a living and they share that common goal. Like people in general the school personnel likes whatever prestige the educational public is willing to accord them. These are shared goals and they do have a bearing upon personal relations. In the educational organization, however, there is another goal, a goal unique to the educational group and shared by all members of the group. This is the common aim of providing the best possible education for the children, youth, and adults who come under their influence.

This common goal of all educators is a potent, integrating factor,

times produces assignable benefit, often fails to meet existing evils, and not uncommonly engenders new and unexpected ones. . . .[7]

But Robinson feels that the only solution is "an unprecedented change in attitude" or, as he says: "Yes, there is Intelligence. That is yet an untested hope in its application to the regulation of human relations." [8]

The historian and the academic groups applying themselves to the problems of human relations encourage the educator in his pursuit of definite improvement in human relations in the school group. He is encouraged not only because their very concern for the broad problem is heartening but also he finds their conclusions, usually general and broad in their scope, challenging and helpful in making specific application to a small organized group. He is encouraged to "apply intelligence."

Educated Personnel

The fact that the professional personnel of an educational organization is educated is another factor favorable to the study and improvement of personal relations in the school. Because the members of the personnel are professionally educated they have been exposed to the processes which are basic to intelligent group action. We may expect that other of their experiences, in addition to their education, will make them more critically constructive, more discriminately evaluative, and more open-minded.

Most members of the present-day educational profession have been exposed to an education which has stressed training in the psychological and social studies fields. By the nature of their training and because public education is itself a social field of endeavor, educational personnel are more or less permeated with a social point of view. It follows, then, that the educational personnel are potentially able and should be eager to exemplify the most socially

[7] James Harvey Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1921, pp. 4, 15-16.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

within the school community the best available knowledge of what constitutes socially desirable living. In deliberately striving for this, educational organizations will provide children, youth, and adults with experiences which may be expected to contribute to understanding and appreciation of and skill in living the kind of life considered socially desirable in our country today.

The results of experiments and procedures designed to improve human relations in educational organization should certainly find an avid audience as well as a wide audience among the members of the education profession. It is encouraging to expect that such study and experiments will lead to further applications, studies and conclusions.

PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE BOOK

Purpose

One who is aware of and sensitive to the need for improving personnel relations in the educational organization need not be discouraged by adverse personal feelings and certain organizational features or even by the lack of available research material. Certainly, that the education personnel is an educated group, that it shares a common goal, and that progress in human relations within the school is unlimited in its potential effects are facts sufficiently encouraging to stimulate study and experimentation in the interests of progress in personnel relations. It is for this reason that this book purposes to analyze the problem of how men and women, working together under the same or similar organizational arrangements can, as a result of their united efforts, create and administer educational organizations which give full recognition to the importance of constantly and continuously improving the character and quality of the human relations within them. The materials of the book focus attention upon those characteristics and features of socially desirable living which are directly related to building

a unifying feature of the staff of every educational organization, and one which therefore lends much encouragement to the educator who is interested in improving personal relations. Actually, it is a goal which in itself should be construed to encompass the advancement of wholesome relations in every association within the school, teacher-pupil, teacher-teacher, teacher-administrator, administrator-public, or any other combination. How could an education personnel be effective in getting others to improve in the skills necessary for the improvement of their relationships if the personnel itself exemplifies poor group relations?

Broad Potential Effects

Perhaps even more than the encouragement offered by the fact that work toward improving human relations in the educational organization is facilitated by an educated personnel group and a group united by a common goal are the encouragement and challenge provided by the knowledge that whatever is achieved in the direction of improving personal relations in the school is potentially unlimited in its effects. Those who study, experiment, and achieve in improving personnel relations in the school can be assured that the work they are doing is not work which will benefit only the immediate group. They can also be assured that the possible effects of such study extend beyond the personnel, perhaps beyond the entire school community. The experiences, information about plans, and observation of procedures and results can profitably be made available to a very wide audience—the entire school organization and even to the public in general. An example of an organized group increasing its educational achievement through activities which are highly desirable in terms of personal relations within the group is potentially a valuable contributor to the development of a way of life in the community and even the nation.

One of the most important challenges faced by educational organizations is to demonstrate a high type of socially desirable living. In meeting the challenge the schools must apply, in the classroom, among the personnel, and in their many extra relations

accepted, then the illustrations given will indicate applications which may, with modifications, be made in various school situations.

Plan

The book is organized around three general aspects of the human relations problem as it exists in educational organization. Effort is first directed toward establishing a sound and fully acceptable theoretical base, or, as some would say, toward building the psychological, sociological, and philosophical foundations against which the problems of personal relations in educational organization may be projected. For instance, since an educational personnel works in an educational organization it is necessary first to be clear as to what educational organization is. Some serious problems of personal relations in educational organization emanate from the nature of the organization itself and many of the obstacles to improving personal relations are organizational in origin. Members of educational organizations have given evidence that leadership, or social position in educational organization, and the personal factor in interpreting the organizational functions are among the more crucial problems associated with the organization itself and directly related to building wholesome personal relations. The first part of the book will consider principles of educational organization, human relations problems which arise because of the manner in which educational organization operates, and the human relations problems which eventuate from the diverse functioning of various individuals within the organization or, to say it another way, to problems related because of the manner in which individuals interpret their organizational functions.

After establishing the base, studying the organization and role interpretation in the educational organization, attention is directed toward the individual and his place as a member of the organization. The analysis is limited to those aspects of the individual which seem to be especially pertinent to the problem of improving personnel relations in the school group. This means that a discriminat-

wholesome personal relations among the personnel of an educational organization and upon the implications our knowledge may have for the continuous improvement of the quality and character of the personal relations.

It is the purpose of the book to help the educator, whatever his job in the educational picture, to improve relations within the educational groups with which he is associated whether it be the group in a kindergarten or the group in a university classroom, the personnel group of a single school or the personnel group of a school system or the members of an entire school community.

Sources

The materials utilized are from a variety of fields in which leaders have devoted thought and study to some aspect of the problem of human relations. When the conclusions are based upon rather widely accepted generalizations about social living, an attempt is made to apply these directly and specifically to school situations and to what might be done to improve personal relations in these situations. Some of the conclusions and recommendations are the result of long range experience, study, and observation of the writer and still others are derived from the experiences, study, and observations of others who have applied themselves to improving the quality of personal relations in educational organization.

The illustrations have, for the most part, been provided by graduate students, administrators, and practicing teachers at all levels as well as by other school personnel such as janitors and secretaries. Many of the illustrations have been obtained through personal interview. On the whole the illustrations are selected because they are concerned with some broad conclusion which seems basically true and which could be applied to school groups working together in small communities or in large communities, economically privileged or economically poor communities, new communities or old communities, at the kindergarten level or at the level of graduate work in the university. If the general point is comprehended and

also in their educational accomplishments. Only educational personnel who work harmoniously and creatively together realize maximum potential educational achievement. Personnel who so work together are never a product of chance. Their achievement depends partly upon the nature of the organization and partly upon a kind of leadership within the organization which is sympathetic to the personal needs of individuals, which understands the nature of interrelationships involved in organizational situations, and which possesses insight into the conditions and influences which nurture what is desirable in group relations and which possesses workable knowledge and requisite skill to utilize techniques and procedures which, in the light of these understandings, may be expected to promote wholesome personnel relationships.

It should be mentioned that the complexity of human relations in any educational organization is such as to preclude dividing the subject into three or any other number of orderly separated compartments for study. In reality, the only unifying theme is personal relations and the improvement of human relations. This theme, like a golden thread tracing the pattern in a fabric, runs forward and back throughout all the discussions. Although the book is divided into three aspects, these are only to serve for convenience. When organization is discussed, it involves individuals. When the individual is discussed, organization is involved. Nor are techniques to be described as though they exist as entirely separate entities. Human relations and the problem of improving human relations are the unifying elements and no one of the discussions is entirely complete without some consideration of all the others.

Terms

Since the terms personal relations and personnel relations are frequently used in the book and in order to keep from confusing the two, it seems well to point out explicitly the distinction between them. Personnel relations are the relations which exist among the body of employed persons who serve in the educational organiza-

ing choice has been necessary. Attention is directed first to the predispositions or attitudes of the individuals who comprise the educational organization. In the light of these attitudes an analysis is made of representative adjustment problems which the individual faces in connection with his membership in the personnel. The predispositions and attitudes are what the individual brings with him as he enters into group membership and which he modifies constantly in terms of his experiences. Adjustment is one of the major problems he must face, in some cases, simply because he has membership in the organization, because he is subject to the frustrations and restraints it imposes upon him.

Besides gaining an understanding of the organization and insight into certain desirable organizational practices and studying the individual's attitudes and adjustments as they are related to the educational organization, it is necessary to subject certain typical administrative and supervisory techniques to scrutiny in terms of their effects on personal relations. This is especially important because, frequently, when dissatisfactions with group relations are expressed the dissatisfactions involve situations growing out of a lack of expertness in the use of administrative and supervisory techniques. The possibility of improving personal relations in educational organization through a wiser application of techniques is illustrated in the third section of the book by a detailed analysis of three broad, generally used techniques: the techniques of observation, of evaluation, and of achieving participation. Although these three are only examples from among many it seems that if even these three organizational techniques alone were expertly used with an eye to improving the quality and character of personal relations in the educational organization, striking progress could be made. Also, certain generalizations made about these techniques are equally applicable to other administrative and supervisory techniques.

It is assumed throughout that the quality of relations which exists among the personnel in an educational organization is reflected not only in the feeling of well-being experienced by the personnel but

looked upon as the ones who perform all the functions of admin-
istration. This has resulted in a division of the personnel into two
separate camps—the teachers and the administrators.

Many believe that the educational organization is merely a re-
flection of the administrators' desires. The possible harmful effects
of this dividedness to good personal relations is at once apparent,
especially if the personnel itself assumes that there is a cleavage.
Actually a desirable pattern of educational organization is centered
on the classroom as a unit, with the teacher or professor the prin-
cipal unit in the administration of the school.

Throughout the discussion administration is spoken of regardless
of who performs the function. If the work of a specific functionary
is discussed, such as the work of the teacher, the principal, the
supervisor, then the specific functionary is identified by title. Where
administration is discussed, unless the functionary is specifically
named, the reference will be to the facilitating process performed
to aid in the educative process, regardless of who performs it.

tion. They are the personal relations peculiar to the body of persons employed in the organization. In numerous ways, however, the educational services of any educational organization involve many persons not employed to perform educational services. Relations between personnel and others outside the employed membership of the organization may be quite as important to the successful performance of the educational services of the organization as are relations among the personnel. The use of the word "personnel" simply delimits the discussion to those who have membership in the educational organization by reason of employment. When so used the word is definitive of a particular group. Subsequent discussion of the processes employed within educational organization with special attention to the human relations involved will utilize the two terms with this distinction in meanings.

While there are many terms used in discussing educational organization, there is a trilogy of terms which underlie all the rest. These are: administration, method, and content. These three terms, like three aspects of a musical composition, develop different phases of a common theme. They are interrelated and nonseparable aspects of education. They may be isolated only for purposes of discussion and for relative emphasis.

Sometimes, in speaking of the administrative aspect of educational organization, two terms which sound alike become confused. These are the two terms administration and administrator. Administration includes the acts and duties performed to facilitate teaching those who are enrolled in the educational organization for the purpose of being taught. Facilitation is its chief, if not its only, function. There are the proverbial hundred and one details to be planned and cared for in order for the educative process to be executed adequately. Every member of the personnel therefore engages in administration, with teachers performing perhaps the largest part of the function. However, some of the facilitating functions are performed by a specialized personnel, and these specialized functionaries are called administrators.

In popular thought the specialized members of the personnel are

social organization are best stated by the social biologists who begin with the universal fact of the interdependence of all animals.

Interdependence

By nature man is interdependent. It is a simple biological fact that all animal life is by structure and function alike, and that man is only a member of a vast organic system, the parts of which bear some relation to one another and to the whole. Man is not the center of that organic universe. He is only a part of it, although perhaps an important part. Even his scale of values must give recognition to the inescapable fact that he is dependent upon other parts of the universe and interdependent upon the earth with other creatures, including his fellow men.

Grouping

Perhaps because of the natural interdependence of men, it is universally true that men live in aggregates. These clusters of humanity are usually structured—that is, there is some describable design which reflects the nature of the human relationships that exist or are practiced by the membership. Grouping is not an attribute of man alone. It seems characteristic of all nature. A group of atoms forms a molecule. Plants having natural relationships live in groups. Animals of kind live in assemblages. That men must live and learn to live in groups seems to be one of the inescapable conditions of existence.

Communities

Because of man's interdependence he tends to live in groups with his fellow men. The groups of men form communities which are small, organized units providing face-to-face relationships among the members. All community units hold membership in larger, socially organized units. Groups of individuals—individuals who share some common purpose and common norms—form groups within the community group. Each man belongs to numerous groups and plays

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Principles of Organization

In our approach to the problem of improving personnel relations in the school we direct our efforts first toward establishing a sound and acceptable theoretical base—toward gaining an understanding of the psychological, sociological, and philosophical foundations against which the problems of personal relations in educational organization may be projected. Relations within any group depend somewhat upon the organization itself, upon a certain pattern of behavior which the members assume in their work together. In seeking an answer to our question "How can we achieve the best possible relations among the personnel in an educational organization?" we begin then with an attempt to understand the bases for the educational organization. We search for pertinent, general, basic understandings about organizations in general and about school organization in particular.

REASONS FOR ORGANIZATION

First, why do men have organization? It seems obvious that we have organization because it facilitates our living together in groups. Why live together in groups? What is there about group living which requires organization? Perhaps the basic reasons for

varying roles. Membership in the family group makes demands vastly different from membership in the religious, educational, political, or industrial group.

The school community is the group within the political community which shares more or less directly in the purposes, functions, direction, and support of the local educational institution. Each school has its public. Within the school community, the school personnel constitute the group of persons employed within the school.

As we have said, clusters of humanity and even groups of animals and plants tend to assume a design or structure. This is basically the pattern which we call the organizational structure. Because group activity requires specialization of services and coördination of function the organizational structure or pattern of organization is the natural result of man's interdependence and the fact that he lives and works in groups.

The personnel group in the school is one of the important structured groups in a community and as such has characteristics very different from the characteristics of an unstructured group such as one might find in Central Park on a pleasant Sunday afternoon.

Interaction

The essence of group living is interaction. Because man is naturally interdependent and lives in groups, no individual ever acts in complete isolation. Individual man cannot avoid interacting with others. When man acts he affects others and he is always affected by others. Interaction within groups is not a simple process which can be understood by studying a single act. Interaction is a complex chain of events. Although the nature and consequences of interaction are not completely understood we can observe the effects of interaction because interaction is related to group integration and also to individual habits of social behavior. This means that interaction may or may not be such as to result in a well-integrated group. It may promote good social habits among the members or it may promote habits socially undesirable.

organization is not something which is, but something which is constantly becoming. Certainly in common with all organizations, the educational organization must provide for coördination of the work which is divided among the members. How is the structure for work division, specialization, and coördination achieved in the school? Does it rest upon mutual understandings and tacit agreements among those who are responsible for the work of the school? If we accept these as features of a school organization then we may define an educational organization as: *a progressive series of mutual understandings or tacit agreements among those who are responsible for the work of the school concerning the coördination of their respective efforts.*

This definition includes the important idea that educational organization is progressive, that process is inherent in progress. Coördination is the keyword of the definition. That the understandings are mutual and many of the agreements tacit is peculiarly true of the educational organization. Inherent in the term so defined is also the necessity for leadership, since some opportunity must be provided for influencing the group in its efforts to common achievement.

What is the significance of the fact that the school organization is a progressive series of mutual understandings and tacit agreements? Where do we get the design for the structure of the typical school organization? [1]

TACIT AGREEMENTS. In an educational organization acceptance of tacit agreements has definite implications. When a new teacher enters the classroom he is immediately accorded a certain place in the scheme of things. This is granted him because there is a tacit agreement that certain prerogatives belong to him. When a new principal, at the first faculty meeting, occupies the speaker's

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[1] See Ralph M. Stogdill for an interesting discussion of the relationships between leadership, membership, and organization in Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, editors, *Group Dynamics*, Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1953. Chapter IV. Stogdill defines organization as "a social group in which the members are differentiated as to their responsibilities for the task of achieving a common goal."

Specialization and work division create a need for coördination and control. Coördination and control are among the specialized functions of the group, are part of the work divided among the members. Perhaps, if communication were ideal and the processes of interaction perfect, authority and control would not be among the specialized functions delegated to an individual or individuals in a structured group. However, since, as we have said, communication is not ideal and the processes of interaction are not perfect, some provision has to be made to care for coördination. Coördination usually involves authority and control.

The provision for work division, the opportunity for specialization including specialization of the functions of coördination and control, are dependent upon the organization of the group. As a structured group the school organization is the foundation for work division in the educational group. Sometimes one hears it said that schools are overorganized. Schools can be misorganized or even disorganized but schools can never be overorganized. A skilfully organized personnel will be well on the way to the development of good personnel relations.

WHAT IS EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION?

We have seen that organization, in general, is the natural outgrowth of man's interdependence, his tendency to form groups devoted to a common goal. It conveys the idea of persons working together systematically to accomplish a given piece of work or to achieve a common end. It is characterized by interaction, work division, and specialization. In turning our attention directly toward that type of organization which is the educational organization what additional distinguishing features do we discover?

A Definition

We discover first of all that the educational organization is progressive, that process is inherent in the structure. An educational

school is imbedded in community tradition. The pattern of the school has been set. The patterns of thinking also have been established. The mutual understandings and agreements basic to the educational organization have been made in the past and must, for the time being, be accepted as they are. Any effort toward change must first be directed toward modifications of the mutual understandings and agreements established in the past so that the basic organization can be changed to become consistent with, and harmonious to, something new.

The situation is somewhat analogous to a family moving into a house. After the family settles down, each member finds something he does not like. The family does not tear the house down. Instead it studies carefully what modifications are feasible and what modifications it would like to see made. Usually, then, the family agrees to make but a single modification at a time, selecting for immediate change those features *which displease most.* If the baby is *too* young to make suggestions and requests, his needs and interests are determined for him and given consideration. Care is taken to arrive at a decision which satisfies each member of the family group.

Of course, the analogy has limited application. For instance, the family will have to be prepared to adjust to time's inevitable ravages on the house. A social institution suffers no comparable depreciation merely because of the passage of time. Instead, in fact, in a *human organization, progress may be accelerated and the direction* of growth continuously improved with time's passing. Any deterioration which occurs will probably be the consequence of bad judgment on the part of some person or persons. Ideally, institutional design will continually improve with age and as long as a need for it exists.

THE ORGANIZING PROCESS

Two Phases

Our definition of organization includes "a *progressive* series of mutual agreements and tacit understandings," which means that

rostrum at the front of the room, his action arouses no comment. He is not invited to do so. That he do so is understood. Many responsibilities and privileges are thus accepted. They are taken for granted. Tacit agreements favor custom, tradition. Mutual agreement, on the other hand, encourages progress, necessitates interaction, and is friendly to change.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS. Inasmuch as the mutual understandings referred to in the definition of educational organization abide only in the minds of persons, "educational organization" has as many meanings as there are persons engaged in carrying on the work of the school. Some of the meanings may be similar but in no two cases are they identical. They cannot be. One of the important responsibilities of all who are united by bonds of work is so to work together that their understandings become more alike, and their understandings of what is good for each to do within the organization become thoroughly mutually agreeable. Unless those who are associated make a conscious effort to clarify the mutual understandings, their interaction may be seriously limited. Each should ask: "What is my notion of my organization? What place do I occupy in the scheme of association? What do I want these understandings to be? How can I help the understandings to become mutual?" The function of the administrator is to facilitate the process. His is the responsibility to take advantage of situations which are conducive to improved individual and group functioning.

Source of Design

From where do the tacit agreements that are incorporated in an organization come? Usually they are inherited. That organizational patterns are handed down from the past is both fortunate and unfortunate. One must recognize that no one ever builds a school. One just finds himself in a school which has already been built. All of us must proceed to think from where our forebears concluded. Our efforts, if they are to be intelligent, should be continuous with theirs. Many have been the mistakes in school administration caused by a failure to recognize this simple fact! The work of the

and group ideas fully exploited. The superintendent evaluated the young principals in terms of their reactions in the clarification phase, also, because it seemed to him that they prolonged clarification to a degree that became detrimental to the action phase.

The young men, when planning with their staffs, spent so much time and energy on clarification that it was almost impossible to arrive at a final agreement on recommendations and to move into any kind of planned action. The staffs complained about the great amount of time spent in discussion that did not lead to action. They attended long faculty meetings which seemed to lead to little that was significant. The young principals, during clarification, expressed liberal ideas. They were conservative, however, when it came to agreeing upon final action.

When considering the two aspects, it is important to recognize that the thinking which comprises the clarification phase of the organizing process is wholly tentative. Much of it is done in the spirit of exploration. Clarification requires no test of the ideas proposed, so the participant has an opportunity to be very liberal without suffering any consequences. Clarification may, however, consume a great amount of time and energy. Since time is the one constant factor in school administration, and energy is a limited resource, it is important if human relations are not to become strained, that the expenditure of time and energy be portioned wisely in terms of both phases of the organizing process.

The young principals mentioned above rightfully recognized clarification as a tentative phase. They were inconsistent with their own liberal thinking when they prolonged the discussion as though believing that a stage of perfect clarification could be reached. This tendency may reflect the schoolman's experience as a student in school where almost unlimited time is usually devoted to the discussion of questions and to proposing untested, theoretical solutions. As a rule, no provision is made for experience with practical execution of possible solutions. In training, tentativeness is frequently emphasized as praiseworthy, implying that it involves such

organization may not remain static. The organizing process goes on constantly. It may be thought of as having two phases, the first phase: clarification; the subsequent phase: action. The first phase is preparatory to and includes the final systematic agreements which lead to action. The major technique used in the clarification process is group planning which involves discussion, the techniques of which are dealt with in more detail in the chapter on participation.

Actually, it is incorrect to think of the two aspects of the organizing process as distinctly separable. Group planning and organized action cannot be disjoined or assigned to independent realms because they are interlocking aspects, closely related parts of the same process. In approaching a problem calling for organized action, emphasis in the beginning may be upon clarification: consideration of conditions, weighing values, projecting plans. In the consummatory stage a course of action is carried out and the consequences noted and evaluated. Although action itself is final, it is not final to the organizing process. It, in turn, constitutes a testing stage, and the beginning point for a new and more advanced level of deliberation in the continuing flow of the organizing process.

A superintendent of schools stated that it has been his observation that a number of young administrators in his school system, and particularly those whose training was recent, were frequently conservative in organizing their schools. The young principals, in the same system, had previously expressed their belief that the superintendent, while a very able and excellent administrator, was noticeably conservative when helping to organize. It was evident that while each was judging the other upon behavior in the organizing process, what was conservative behavior to one was not conservative behavior to the other. The differences arose because the young administrators based their conclusions about the superintendent upon his conduct during the clarification phase of the organizing process. They felt that he called for a vote and moved into definite action before clarification of the issues was complete

amount of time and energy spent in clarification is reasonableness. *Too much time and energy spent upon clarification and discussion result in discouragement and in lowered respect for the administrator. Too little time, or too little energy spent on preparation and exploration results in lack of understanding, incomplete group contribution, lack of group agreement, inadequate group conviction, immature proposals,* and hence, in terms of group morale, ineffective final action.

The reasonableness of time and energy consumed can be judged only through experience. One of the problems of the school administrator grows out of the fact that, because of his more extended training and experience, he may possess clearer insights, may complete clarification rather quickly, and hence be prone to act with too little time and energy allotted to group clarification before final action. *The reverse may be true of the educator who possesses fewer insights and has had less experience.* Both may be unreasonable in the allocation of time and energy to the clarification process because of a lack of appreciation of the true nature of the underlying difficulty. Whereas one may insist on spending too much time on clarification another may insist on spending too little.

Timing in the organizing process, on the part both of the educator who leads and all members of the group, calls for experienced and considered judgment. If the group does not arrive at decisions or consensus in a reasonable time, staff morale suffers. However, if a vote and decision are forced prematurely, regardless of the merits of the proposition, staff morale suffers. A well-intentioned teacher or administrator who insists that clarification, which must be accepted as the hypothetical, projective, tentative phase of organizing, be continued until absolute understanding is achieved is, whether or not he intends to be, definitely an obstructionist. Leadership skill in any educational organization meets a very real test when it is exercised to influence and guide the dynamics of the organizing process in a manner which leads to marked improvement in the quality of human relations.

virtues as tolerance and open-mindedness. In fact, sometimes young administrators view the entire organizing process as tentative. The habit is reflected in their language which is replete with such terms as "probably," "perhaps," and "possibly" used as qualifying words to all aspects of their thinking—ostensibly as an escape from expressing a conviction, despite the fact that conviction, in some degree at least, is essential to action.

On the other hand, the administrator who has formed convictions may be charged with being arbitrary, absolute, or despotic when he arrives at a conclusion, with some conviction, in advance of the group, informs the staff prematurely that he has a proposal for organized action, and then closes his mind to suggestions or modifications from the group. Conviction is essential to effective group action, but the conviction must grow out of and be the conviction of the group.

Proportionment of Time

What, then, shall be the criterion for judging the amount of time and energy ideally devoted to the preparatory phase? There is a natural tendency for groups to hesitate before entering the action phase because it is action that leads to rigid and critical testing. Action inevitably leads to consequences. Clarification must proceed to a point where most of the group understand the problem and can make suggestions and reach agreement on proposed action. The degree of success achieved by putting the action into effect is a measure of the validity of the preparatory clarifications and proposals. The effect on staff morale of getting the action under way is one measure of the adequacy of the preparatory clarification. The thinking and group planning which comprise the initial phase may be revised in terms of the success of the action. The initial problem having been disposed of, the two phases of organizing are commenced again either in the light of a new problem or a modification of what was the old problem.

The only criterion to be applied in judging what is a satisfactory

birds, dogs, cattle, mice, fish, frogs, lizards, and turtles have much in common with the organization of human groups.

The human reaction to social hierarchies is varied. . . . In some situations in which we ourselves accept subordinate status, willingly or by force of circumstances beyond our control, we are often conscious, sometimes acutely so, of an inner compensation. We know that the dominance gradient of true merit is quite different from the one that actually exists. We know nothing with certainty of the inner feelings of non-human animals; we can only make inferences based on observed behavior. Often, despite human speech, we know very little of the feelings of our fellow men as they move through the varied combinations of rank that make up their social life.

The comparisons . . . show that human hierarchies, despite significant man-made variations, represent the human modifications of a well-developed and general behavior pattern characteristic of vertebrates. This fact has important practical consequences. Human social characteristics, even when firmly grounded in social tradition, can be changed by intensive education much more easily than can the behavior patterns that distinguish man as an animal species. Any species patterns are more easily modified than are traits common to all mammals. It is still more difficult to affect characteristics that extend through a whole subphylum. For good or ill, the social system of rankorders belongs in this last category.[4]

The observations of the social biologists also support what the sociologists call the inevitability of caste systems in institutional life. Most sociologists regard some degree of social stratification in institutions as unavoidable. Schools are not exceptions. Kimball Young expresses this thought as follows:

The interaction of those who perform the special functions with those who accept these functions sets the stage for social stratification. The persons who perform the functions build up special habits for doing the required acts. This gives them confidence and faith in their capacity. The others in the group see that the former know how to do the required acts and, in turn, attribute to them this power and capacity and thus

[4] W. C. Allee, "Conflict and Cooperation: Biological Background," in Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and Robert M. MacIver, editors, *Approaches to National Unity*, Fifth Symposium, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945, pp. 358, 359.

HIERARCHY IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION [2]

As we have seen, when men who share common norms gather in groups to achieve a common purpose, to divide work and to share functions, the group develops a structure, a pattern of organization. Traditionally the pattern of organization has followed lines dictated by the hierarchical principle.[3] Educational organizations have been no exception. It seems important, therefore, to consider the bases for the acceptance of this principle of organization, especially in education, to observe how it operates in educational organizations, and to evaluate critically its appropriateness in terms of the educational function.

Bases for the Pattern

The hierarchical principle of organization has been accepted by educators partly because it follows a pattern which the social biologists and sociologists tell us is typical of organized life generally, partly because a hierarchical organization in the schools is associated with community tradition, and partly because experience in organizations in other social institutions like the church and the military make the hierarchical pattern of organization seem desirable, even inevitable.

SOCIAL BIOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY. Social biologists tell us that the hierarchical plan of organization is typical of organized life generally, even among animals. W. C. Allee, an eminent student of comparative sociology and of group organization in animals, believes that the social integration of animals such as hens, flocking

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[2] See Chapter 9 for a description of the details of hierarchy in educational organization.

[3] Some prefer to call this the scalar principle. Basically, the underlying assumption is that, to use the words of Mooney and Reiley, "Coordination must contain in its essence the supreme coordinating authority." For a clear exposition see James D. Mooney and Alan C. Reiley, *The Principles of Organization*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939, Chapter III, "The Scalar Principle." The discussion in this chapter and later chapters assumes that the reader possesses a basic understanding of the principle.

action, a social class established to carry out a special function. As a class the personnel are accorded a degree of prestige and are vested with a measure of power to organize and administer an educational program.

It should be remembered, however, that although the community authorizes a board of education and thus clears the way for the personnel to organize according to the hierarchical principle, the board does not actually dictate the details of that hierarchical school organization. It does not, for instance, legislate that the group of educators which it designates as a class shall further sub-divide into many classes. The personnel is left to determine the details of its own hierarchical pattern. So, despite the fact that the hierarchical plan of organization has a firm foundation in community tradition, the kind and number of class divisions within any given educational organization are largely established by educational tradition. It is not a required plan of organization because of community dictates.

COMMON EXPERIENCE. Because the hierarchical principle operates broadly and consistently in many organizations like military, political, and commercial groups, with which we are all associated and very familiar, we tend to assume that a hierarchical plan is essential to all organizations including educational organizations. So common is our experience with a hierarchical plan that we popularly assume that authority is something that inevitably exists in levels or strata or degrees. Supreme authority is vested in the man at the top. If an organization has but two people, they are classified as superior and subordinate. The one highest in authority delegates authority down the line and each subordinate is responsible to the one above for a proper and effective use of the authority delegated to him.

We are familiar with the fact that personnel problems, under the hierarchical plan, usually involve proper relations of a subordinate to his superior, of a superior to his subordinates. Delegation of authority, in a sense, is a form of assignment or trust and in another sense a form of hierarchical philanthropy. One may ask the office

come to expect them to perform these acts in the future. The prestige of the specialized group grows with the acceptance by others of these very functions as necessary. . . .

It seems clear that we can scarcely deny the inevitability of a class system of some sort.[5]

Observations by child psychologists of the social behavior among young children also substantiate this view. Experiments have shown that when children are placed in groups some children will elevate themselves to places of authority while others will be content to be submissive.

In a social organization the allocation of function is accompanied by a corresponding distribution of authority and power. Assumption of authority and power, in turn, brings prestige. When a group of persons secures a certain kind of authority, they form a caste, a class, an association, or a profession—a social stratum—and thereby acquire status. Experience shows that once a group achieves power, prestige, and status, it will strive to protect and perpetuate them.

The scientists, whether making conclusions about animal groups, social organizations, or even about groups of children at play, are agreed that some kind of hierarchical pattern of organization seems inevitable.

THE COMMUNITY. Besides the fact that a hierarchical structure seems somewhat natural to organization, in the school the structure is also a part of community custom. The community which establishes and supports the school takes for granted that educational organization will follow a kind of hierarchical pattern—usually beginning with a board of education. The foundation for hierarchical organization in the school is therefore intrenched in community tradition. The community which authorizes a school authorizes also the establishment of the organization and it generally assumes that this will follow the lines dictated by the hierarchical principle.

Thus the personnel of the school become, through community

[5] Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1934, p. 492.

the one to make decisions of a crucial nature, that principals should make simpler ones, and so on down the line. Professor Cubberley, an earlier authority on school administration, helped to intrench a pattern of organization which became both popular and persistent.

The principal of a school in a city school system occupies a peculiar and somewhat confidential relationship to the superintendent of the school system, and his connections with the superintendent's office must be on a higher plane than if he were merely a teacher. . . .

It is primarily the function of the superintendent to think and to plan and to lead; it is primarily the function of the principal to execute plans and to follow and to support. It is also the function of the superintendent of schools to pass upon and decide the more important matters referred to him from the schools and by the board; it is the function of the principal to decide as many matters of a local nature as is possible, and to refer for decision only the more important questions to the central office above. A principal should be able to sense the superintendent's policy and to carry it out without bothering him continually for details.[6]

Those who give the administrators such directions might go back to the Bible for similar advice! In Exodus XVIII:25, 26 we read: "And Moses chose able men out of all Israel and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties and rulers of tens. And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard causes they brought unto Moses but every small matter they judged themselves."

Despite the fact that advice to follow a Mosaic pattern is given school administrators, attempting to follow this pattern in organizing a school without full recognition of the human relations limitations is impractical. It just is not applicable to a group in which all members are professionalized to an equal degree. For instance, how could these directions be applied without modification in a situation where high school and elementary school principals are, by experience and training, specialists in the administration of their particular units? Wouldn't the principal be the man of superior knowledge—at least in the area of his own school? Wouldn't it, for

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[6] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The Principal and His School*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, pp. 18–19.

boy to empty the waste basket. In so doing one delegates authority. The office boy is given authority to empty the basket. The office boy, when he does what he is asked to do, is conscious that he is responsible to the one above him, who in turn is responsible to the one above him. Hierarchical relationships of this type are assumed to form a chain, the length of the chain depending on the size and complexity of the organization.

Casual observation of hierarchical types of organization often leads us to assume that the hierarchical principle is so uncomplicated, so convenient, and direct in application that it could operate almost automatically. What we tend to forget in making these assumptions is that the chain in the hierarchical organization consists of people. Since the people in this chain have attitudes, feelings, and beliefs, potent psychological factors, perhaps not obvious on the surface, are part of the picture. Carefully directed observation may reveal that the operation of the hierarchy actually is complicated and relatively inefficient, particularly in terms of personal relations.

The fact that scientists have found a hierarchical principle of organization typical of all kinds of organized groups, the knowledge that the community takes it for granted that schools will have some kind of a hierarchical organization, and our common experiences with the hierarchical kind of organization in military, political, and commercial groups which have led generally to an assumption that ranks and standing and levels of authority are inevitable—all these contribute to making the hierarchical type of organization characteristic of our schools.

TRADITIONALLY RECOMMENDED. The typical plan of hierarchical organization in schools is further reinforced by the fact that traditionally it is the kind of school organization recommended to school administrators in their training programs. Certain policies in school administration based on the scalar-chain concept of organization have traditionally been considered appropriate for school administrators, particularly for the inexperienced school administrator. One of the older rules is that the superintendent should be

Every principal, on the other hand, at times also performs important duties and makes crucial decisions which have significant consequences to the entire personnel. These duties and decisions call for the use of great ability and the highest of trained intelligence. The demand upon the principal is not constant. The need for high-level action occurs intermittently.

Despite the fact that some of the prevailing patterns of the hierarchical arrangement seem illogical for an educational organization, school administrators still are trained largely in procedures which follow the established, traditional pattern. It is the administrator's training reinforced with a natural tendency for groups to fall into some kind of hierarchical pattern and our tendency to adhere to custom and tradition which give a strong foundation to the typical hierarchical organization found in most school groups. This is true even though an educational organization cannot possibly explain the hierarchies in its framework as outgrowths of gradations in terms of relative importance. Admittedly, hierarchies exist in one form or another because of the nature of man's social needs, or perhaps because of his frailties, but not as a result of scientific reasoning or irrefutable logic. The fact should be recognized that in any large educational organization there are many persons who could satisfactorily perform any one given task. The level of the man in the chain will give no certain answer as to whether he should or should not be delegated the authority. Some other criterion, and one that is based on mature, professional reasoning will have to serve as the basis for deciding how the division of work shall be made and how the efforts of the personnel shall be coördinated.

Manifestations of the Pattern

There seems to be little doubt that the hierarchical pattern has a strong and lasting foundation in the educational organization. What are some of the manifestations of the hierarchical arrangement in educational organization?

RANKS, TITLES, AND PRIVILEGES. Perhaps the most important and certainly the most obvious manifestation of the hierarch-

instance, be a mistake for a highly trained elementary school principal to attempt to follow Cubberley's advice and "sense the superintendent's policy and carry it out"? Perhaps the situation should be reversed and the superintendent should "sense" the principal's policy! Actually, in solving many problems of school administration, the highly skilled schoolman, whether his responsibility is mainly for the classroom, a school building, or a school system, cannot use the judgment of another passed down to him as a substitute for his own judgment.

There is considerable danger in attempting to remove some of the more difficult duties from a teacher and to assign them to someone who, because of position, is presumably better suited to perform them. How are you to decide, for instance, whether the teacher should deal with the difficult problems of emotional adjustment among his pupils or should refer these to a specially trained counselor? Should the teacher counsel with parents about their children or have another member of the personnel do this? In other words, should the center of the educative process begin primarily with the well-trained and experienced teacher? Or should the center of the educative process be shifted to some other specialist in the organization? Questions such as these cannot be answered by insisting that a graded scale of importance exists. Some of the duties of a teacher transcend, in importance and in difficulty, many of the responsibilities of other specialists. Whether the teacher should perform a particular task, in a given situation, is a matter of judgment. Judgment must be evaluated in terms of total results. Actually, the question of who should accept a specific responsibility is a question which cannot be determined by a scale of rank and importance. Ideally, it will be decided within the group in terms of the complete, anticipated outcome.

That a principal, regardless of how able, can keep all the important duties for himself and delegate all less important matters to others lower in the scalar chain is a myth. Every capable principal must perform many duties which are relatively inconsequential when viewed in terms of a scale of importance or of difficulty.

emphasizes the differences in privileges associated with ranks and titles, and therefore is a potential contributor to disunity, dissatisfaction, and competition.[8]

     OTHER MANIFESTATIONS. The hierarchical organization in the school is evident in the ranks, titles, and privileges which are given individual members of the staff in terms of their importance as measured by the position each occupies on a scale. The pattern tends to lead to a system of rigidly classified levels among the personnel—a system of classes. Of course, the effects of having ranks, titles, and classes cannot be measured or catalogued. In addition to those mentioned there are many other manifestations and effects of the hierarchical type of organization. Others will be evident in the following chapter on problems which arise because of the manner in which the organization operates, and especially in the final chapter on participation. In our pursuit of a way to improve personnel relations in the educational organization we shall be forced to return again and again to the effects the kind of organization we traditionally accept for our schools has on human relations.

Unsuitability of the Pattern

     We have discovered where the school gets its traditional organizational pattern, part of the reason why it is firmly intrenched, and some of its manifestations. When and in what ways is the hierarchical pattern of educational organization compatible with improving human relations? In terms of what we have discussed about school organization what, when viewed in the light of the problem of improving human relations, seems unsuitable about the pattern of hierarchy for the typical school group?

     Actually, the pattern is no more applicable to the profession of education than it is to the professions of law and medicine where it is applied only in simple form. Perhaps the nearest approach to a traditional hierarchical organization in the medical profession is in

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[8] For a striking example of the effects of class distinction on morale in banking institutions see an editorial: "How to Place Bets in the Corporation Sweepstakes," *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1954, p. 16.

ical organization is the system of ranks, titles, and privileges typical of most educational institutions. As in other organizations, ranks, titles, and privileges are associated with power and prestige, both of which are crucial factors in shaping the nature of the human relations.

Universities supply a classic example. They cling rigidly to ranks: assistant, teaching assistant, instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, full professor, head of a department, assistant to a dean, associate dean, dean, vice-president, president. The higher the rank and title the greater the number of special privileges. In one study [7] it was revealed that almost 70 per cent of the entering students in a particular university were receiving their instruction from men none of whom had rank higher than instructor. Work with advanced students was generally preferred, and since the men of higher rank were granted more freedom in the selection of assignments, they invariably did only a small part of the teaching on the freshman level. Instruction of beginning students was given to men of lower rank, lower degrees, and shorter length of service. This is just an example of the fact that at any level of education rank is directly related to the prestige, influence, and privileges of various members of an educational personnel.

Classes. Ranks and titles in educational organization build classes within classes, professions within professions, and generally lead to cleavages and barriers such as are discussed more fully in the chapter on participation. National organizations, teachers' federations, educational associations and local organizations, clubs, fraternities, and the like tend to solidify the distinctions. Separate organizations of career groups even at the highest administrative levels such as the American Association of School Administrators and the American Association of Secondary School Principals, two entirely separate organizations of school administrators, restrict membership and tend to promote the special interests of a particular select group. Obviously such accentuation

[7] J. M. Hughes, "Junior College Instruction," *Journal of Higher Education*, June, 1930, pp. 321–330.

Teachers work with growing children and feel a deep responsibility for assisting children in desirable growth. Administration, methods of teaching, curriculum experiences, physical equipment, human and other aids all exist to facilitate that process. Soldiers can be taught through the application of authority to build trenches, to march, and to fit into a scheme of battle. Perhaps men working on machines in factories can likewise be directed through authority. Educators of children and adults cannot be so simply directed.

Obviously, if the major role of the teacher or professor in an educational organization is conceived to be that of supplying nurture for growth and directing growth, in a real sense, no one, ideally,[9] should outrank the teacher or professor in prestige, supersede him in vision, or attempt to control how he teaches through an application of authority passed down through some scalar chain, even when the man of higher rank does also possess the greater authority.

STRUCTURE OF AUTHORITY

Accepting that organization is inevitable in group living, that the organizing process is continuous, and that the hierarchical principle of organization has traditionally shaped the pattern of educational organization in our country, we move on to observe some of the features and functions of organizations, especially educational organizations, noting the impact of the hierarchical principle on certain of these features and functions. We turn our attention first to the structure of authority—a feature typical of all organizations. The character of the structure of authority reflects the philosophy which is basic to the organizing process, it gives direction to organizational activities, and has a great deal to do with the quality of human relations characteristic of any particular organization. What

[9] We must stress "ideally" since, as Florian Zaniecki in his careful study showed so well, society largely decides this. See Florian Zaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, especially p. 91.

the large endowed medical clinic which functions both as an educational and medical consultation institution. Hierarchical organization differs from that in public school systems even here, however, because in the medical clinic it is the outstanding man of knowledge who is afforded extraordinary professional prestige. It is the achievements of the staff which are brought to the attention of the public. The board of trustees, the directors, and the business managers function inconspicuously in a service capacity.

The scalar-chain principle, as it has been interpreted traditionally in educational organization, is unsuitable in some ways basically because the education of a child is so complex, so essentially a shared responsibility, that an educational institution cannot be completely and adequately organized on so simple a principle. Various decisions relative to the process of education cannot be ranked in terms of importance, nor can allocations be made to staff members on a matching scale. Titles, gradations in rank, and prestige derived from position are largely manifestations of the vestiges of the borrowing from the past rather than the result of sound and logical decisions based on experience. Transplanting the scalar-chain principle to the school in the form generally found in other areas of organized endeavor is perhaps the schoolman's interpretation of how the conclusions of social biologists and sociologists about organization should be incorporated in educational organization. He has fallen back for his arguments upon the assumptions the community makes about school organization, upon the rather universal assumptions about organization which result mainly from experience with hierarchical patterns of organization in the military and in business, and upon the theories of educational organization which have traditionally been handed down to administrators from earlier theorists. Nevertheless, the interpretation the educator has placed upon the principle has been such as to lead to the observation that the application of the scalar-chain principle to educational institutions has resulted in gradations and ranks which are so obviously incongruous as to constitute a real threat to the building of good human relations.

the authority he possesses. As discussed in the chapter on Interpretation of Role, ethical considerations enter the picture. Since the school group is a unique group, the structure of authority for the educational organization must conform to certain conditions which make it different from all others. What are some of these conditions and differences?

AUTHORITY CANNOT BE ALLOCATED DEFINITELY. Regardless of the pattern of the structure of authority, it is not possible in most instances clearly and definitely to allocate authority in the educational organization. The individual exercising authority must make an interpretation. Authorities are not definite either in form or quantity. No individual can be said to possess authority in the sense of authorities which exist as fixed entities, apart from a situation, which can be bound together like so many sticks of wood. Instead, the right to use authority is always a matter of degree. The amount of authority required to accomplish a given task is determined by the nature of the task to be performed, and the requisite authority is assigned on the basis of ability to perform the necessary task. Whether the school can punish the child is a matter of judgment, of reasonableness. A teacher may criticize the pupils, the principal may inflict penalties on teachers or pupils, provided the sanctions he elects to apply are reasonable or accepted as justified. No one possesses authority to an absolute degree.

For example, the principal of a large city high school ruled that a pupil who, with parental knowledge and encouragement, refused to wear a cap and gown at commencement, be denied graduation from the high school. The parent sued for the diploma and won. The court ruled that, while a school has authority over the acts of a pupil, it is not justified in making unreasonable use of that authority. In determining whether school administrators or teachers have certain authorities, judges have consistently based their decisions on the reasonableness of the use of the particular authority. They view the question of authority to be a matter of degree.[10]

[10] For an enlightened discussion of the use of authority by school officials see Newton Edwards, *The Courts and the Public Schools*, Chicago: University

do we mean by a structure of authority as it applies generally to organizations?

Meaning

In getting at the meaning of structure of authority we return to the definition of organization. Organization is a progressive series of mutual understandings or tacit agreements among those who are responsible for the work of the school concerning the coördination of their respective efforts. You will note that the tacit agreements and mutual understandings involved apply to the coördination of human effort. This includes effort expended in the exercise of authority. To understand the interrelation of authority, as dominated by the general character of the organization, we use the term "structure of authority." A structure of authority may be defined as the crystallization, in the minds of the staff, of their understandings of the conduct of their group activities in terms of the distribution of responsibility, leadership, and power. Structure of authority is simply a further application of the division of work idea. Specialization is applied to the authority function.

A structure of authority may be imposed on the group in terms of allocation of power according to some established hierarchical plan. The group merely accepts a structure. The structure of authority, on the other hand, may be developed by the group itself in terms of the application of group intelligence to an immediate organizational situation.

As It Functions in Educational Organization

Perhaps the important test of a structure of authority in educational organization is its success measured in terms of wholesome personnel relations. In the main, whether a particular individual in the organization has the right to use authority is not so crucial a question as *how* he should use his authority. Nor can the problem be overlooked as to the kinds of sanctions which can be appropriately employed when he violates good taste in the application of

Even teaching fields cannot always be classified into categories which will make authority for specific subject matter fields definite. Often in universities arguments center around such questions as who should be given the authority to offer the course in social psychology, the professor of psychology or the professor of sociology? Should geography be in a department with geology or separate from geology? Should botany and zoology be taught together in a department of biology? Where does physical chemistry belong? In the elementary school, should the language arts be taught together or as separate subjects? In high school should oral English be separated, when taught, from written English? These are not, as may appear at first glance, petty and inconsequential questions. The answers may seriously affect relations among persons of the finest worth and integrity. The answers involve the problems of the allocation of the right to use authority. Clearly such perplexing problems arise because educational responsibilities do not, like the insects, separate into logical families. There are no categorically right answers to such questions.

IDEALLY GROUP-DETERMINED. The structure of authority in the school is unique partly because it is difficult clearly and definitely to allocate authority in an educational organization. Educators must be sensitive to the necessity of evolving the mutual understandings and agreements which are the basis of the structure of authority and must face an obligation to respect those understandings and agreements which have been evolved. This brings us to another characteristic especially typical of the structure of authority in the school group: Ideally it is the product of group action. Because of the nature of the school organization it is impossible to allocate authority definitely, to define specifically or to classify authority in levels of importance. Therefore personal interpretation is an inevitable part of the structure of authority in the school. Since the interpretation has to rest in large measure with the personnel, ideally the main responsibility for delegation of authority and power should as far as possible rest with the group concerned.

AUTHORITY OFTEN DIVIDED. The structure of authority in the school is further modified by the fact that authority in educational organization is nearly always divided among several persons. For example, in a controversy within a large state university, a faculty man disagreed with the dean of the school with regard to the rightful use of authority. The entire faculty became involved. Some sided with the dean, some with the faculty man. The president rendered a decision which was favorable to the dean. His decision did not end the controversy, however. By appeal, the question went to the board of trustees. Since the board is elected by popular party vote, the controversy finally had to be settled in a state election. In popular opinion the president of the university had such and such authority. As it works out in educational organization, however, authority over even simple matters seems never to rest absolutely upon the shoulders of a single individual, or upon the shoulders of any one group of persons.

IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE LEVELS OF IMPORTANCE. A third factor conditioning the structure of authority in the school stems from the fact that educational duties cannot be classified into levels of importance or of difficulty. This means that in an educational organization it is impossible to distribute authority in terms of importance of an individual or of difficulty of the function performed.

Perhaps nothing in the field of education calls for greater skill than teaching. Perhaps in education there are few tasks which are more difficult, which are more taxing of energy, or which call for the use of more discriminating judgment than classroom teaching. Therefore, if an attempt were made to distribute authority in terms of the value of the service rendered and the degree of refinement of ability required, a teacher or professor who performs the most consequential duties would possess the highest authority. Of course, it would be absurd to attempt to rank responsibility and service and to distribute power in those terms in an educational organization.

of Chicago Press, 1933, Chapter XVIII, dealing with rules and regulations of boards of education.

ice agency for the promotion of the best known in the area of human relations and must be judged in terms of how well it achieves this goal.

Experience has shown that a structure of authority which is largely a product of group understanding is an incentive to group achievement and a desirable pattern for specialization of the authority function. An educational organization above all others should provide an opportunity for the group to develop its structure of authority not only because it is thereby more efficient but also because it allows members to have an experience in a phase of desirable living to which it is dedicated.

In part because of its unique function, a suitable structure of authority for the school may not be borrowed from other institutions but must be progressively developed by the school group in terms of its own purposes. The plans for allocating authority followed in other institutions are not usually appropriate to the requirements of an educational institution. In general, industry, for example, makes no claim to having distributed authority in terms which are conducive to the development of desirable social habits and group unity. Transplanting the plans for allocation of authority from industry to the school would still be impractical even when the transplanting involved one of the outstanding instances of a structure of authority developed by industry which is ideal in terms of its own personnel relations. It would be impractical, in some degree, because a borrowed structure of authority can never be so successful as one which is the direct product of the group involved. A structure of authority which is most clearly understood and most acceptable is one which grows out of the group which is functioning. It is never one that is imposed upon a group by tradition, by dictate, or even as something borrowed from another group.

While educational organization can find much in other professions like law and medicine which may be of general help in determining a satisfactory structure of authority, even in these fields the details of organization are not entirely applicable to education. Medicine has, for instance, a variety of patterns of organization.

Since the success of an educational institution is peculiarly dependent upon human relationships and especially upon the quality of relationships among its staff, no member of an educational personnel can afford to be indifferent to the organizing process, including the establishment of the structure of authority. In institutions other than the schools the matter of distribution of authority may not be so basically important, especially in terms of its effects on personnel relations. Business and industry can, so it seems, be successful according to commercial standards even in instances where they are not particularly concerned that the allocation of authority be achieved by means which are friendly to group unity and which contribute to wholesome personnel relations. This does not mean that those engaged in business do not generally give recognition to the contributions which business can make toward helping solve the wider problems of human relations. Intelligent businessmen and industrial leaders know that, in the long run, it is just not good business policy to obtain profits at the expense of human relations. In the main they realize that businessmen and industrialists, perhaps as much as any group, have a responsibility for leading in the solution of problems of coördination and authority which are basic to human progress. However, if a single business or industry ignores the broad problems of personal relations to the extent that authority and control are determined entirely apart from group processes, the effects of its neglect may not be readily discernible and may not influence materially the achievement of short-term, management-conceived goals.

Seemingly the success of a manufacturing institution, for instance, depends to a large extent upon the degree to which expert knowledges about mechanical processes are applied to production. Authority can be allocated according to a plan which largely neglects human relations and the institution can still succeed in making a profit. However, no one owns a school and no one individual or group arbitrarily possesses the power and control of ownership. Furthermore, the school cannot be evaluated in terms of some tangible product such as financial profit. The school is a serv-

to the general superintendent of the business; to that of the manager of a single department to the general manager of a department store; to that of the superintendent of a division of a railroad to the president of the company; or to that of the colonel of a regiment to the commanding general of an army." [11] It is very unlikely that any school administrator would have had first-hand experience in institutions of the kind mentioned, so that borrowing a practice from them would involve considerable hazard.

COÖRDINATION

In our definition of a school organization we said that a school organization is a progressive series of mutual understandings or tacit agreements among those who are responsible for the work of the school concerning the coördination of their respective efforts. We have discussed the fact that the organization is progressive, that a hierarchical plan is typical in establishing a structure of authority which is implied in the definition as a part of "coördination." What do we mean by "coördination of their respective efforts"? Why is coördination the core of the definition? What does coördination seek to achieve?

Purpose

As the definition states, the organization seeks to achieve "coördination of efforts." This means, then, that coördination will seek to synchronize the efforts of all persons within an educational organization toward their institutional goals. To be desirable, coördination will be achieved in a way characterized by good personal relations as well as by economy of effort.

It is perhaps strange that coördination, as such, has received little attention in professional educational literature despite the fact that it is frequently admitted in the literature that school administrators face difficulties in coördinating the work of the personnel. To

[11] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

The general practitioner seems to be more or less on his own. Some of the highly endowed clinics seem to be effectively organized for social service. Like education, medicine is in the process of developing institutional patterns. Structures of authority in medical schools and hospitals seem to be undergoing study and experimentation. In fact, problems of organization and administration in hospitals and problems of organization and administration in schools have enough in common that in some institutions of higher learning individuals in both these fields of study work together in common courses. As study progresses, however, and interest is focused upon the unique functions of each type of institution, the paths of study and experimentation must necessarily diverge. Even in this case the crystallization in the minds of the members of an organization of their understandings of the conduct of their group activities in terms of the distribution of responsibility, leadership, and power cannot be borrowed or transferred.

Full-scale borrowing of procedures for distributing authority in educational organizations has one further handicap. Almost always such borrowing has to be done indirectly, with all the weaknesses and hazards that accompany indirect borrowing. Few educators, for instance, have had executive experience in other types of social institutions before becoming members of an educational personnel. This means that the schoolman's knowledge and understanding of the management of another institution, like a railroad or a store for instance, and his comprehension of the basis and operation of the features which he might attempt to transfer to an educational organization, cannot be complete because he lacks direct experience with them.

In earlier times borrowing a structure of authority was sometimes recommended as a procedure for educational organization. Cubberley envisioned the structure of authority in terms of the relationship between two people as follows: "The relationship (of the principal of a school to the superintendent) is analogous in the business world to that of the manager of a town branch of a public utility

to the general superintendent of the business; to that of the manager of a single department to the general manager of a department store; to that of the superintendent of a division of a railroad to the president of the company; or to that of the colonel of a regiment to the commanding general of an army." [11] It is very unlikely that any school administrator would have had first-hand experience in institutions of the kind mentioned, so that borrowing a practice from them would involve considerable hazard.

COÖRDINATION

In our definition of a school organization we said that a school organization is a progressive series of mutual understandings or tacit agreements among those who are responsible for the work of the school concerning the coördination of their respective efforts. We have discussed the fact that the organization is progressive, that a hierarchical plan is typical in establishing a structure of authority which is implied in the definition as a part of "coördination." What do we mean by "coördination of their respective efforts"? Why is coördination the core of the definition? What does coördination seek to achieve?

Purpose

As the definition states, the organization seeks to achieve "coördination of efforts." This means, then, that coördination will seek to synchronize the efforts of all persons within an educational organization toward their institutional goals. To be desirable, coördination will be achieved in a way characterized by good personal relations as well as by economy of effort.

It is perhaps strange that coördination, as such, has received little attention in professional educational literature despite the fact that it is frequently admitted in the literature that school administrators face difficulties in coördinating the work of the personnel. To

[11] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

The general practitioner seems to be more or less on his own. Some of the highly endowed clinics seem to be effectively organized for social service. Like education, medicine is in the process of developing institutional patterns. Structures of authority in medical schools and hospitals seem to be undergoing study and experimentation. In fact, problems of organization and administration in hospitals and problems of organization and administration in schools have enough in common that in some institutions of higher learning individuals in both these fields of study work together in common courses. As study progresses, however, and interest is focused upon the unique functions of each type of institution, the paths of study and experimentation must necessarily diverge. Even in this case the crystallization in the minds of the members of an organization of their understandings of the conduct of their group activities in terms of the distribution of responsibility, leadership, and power cannot be borrowed or transferred.

Full-scale borrowing of procedures for distributing authority in educational organizations has one further handicap. Almost always such borrowing has to be done indirectly, with all the weaknesses and hazards that accompany indirect borrowing. Few educators, for instance, have had executive experience in other types of social institutions before becoming members of an educational personnel. This means that the schoolman's knowledge and understanding of the management of another institution, like a railroad or a store for instance, and his comprehension of the basis and operation of the features which he might attempt to transfer to an educational organization, cannot be complete because he lacks direct experience with them.

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Relation to Goals

The purpose of coördination varies with groups. Coördination in industry, for example, differs from coördination in education mainly in the kind of goals each institution emphasizes. Industrial management may, for example, emphasize harmony of effort, unity, and synchronization of action toward the achievement of one main goal. The goal may be something like the manufacture and sale of a certain number of a given product during a specified time. Sometimes, in situations where human relations are largely disregarded, this goal is set by the management with the personnel as a whole not represented in its establishment. Where such is the case it is relatively simple to establish institutional goals and to determine and effect the necessary coördination. Such goals, however, are sometimes thoroughly resented by the personnel. Occasionally they even engender hate for the management. Where such is the case each worker determines his own goal which is usually to obtain for himself the highest pay possible by the most expeditious method.

In an educational organization, even more than in industry, in achieving coördination the personnel must also deliberately strive to advance good personnel relations because good personnel relations are essential to the successful achievement of the kind of goals peculiar to educational organizations. One problem of coördinating human efforts in an educational organization arises because of the existence of two kinds of goals—the institutional goals and the personal goals or the goals of the individuals. There is no intent in this treatise to ignore the existence of the institutional goals—those broad goals established by society and achieved through the body politic. We shall simply assume that the reader is well acquainted with certain well-established and accepted functions which schools are expected to achieve. We shall return to these in the chapter on evaluation. By focusing at this point upon the problem of coördinating as it is related to the goals of the individual, it becomes clear that coördination of desirable individual goals will also necessarily advance institutional goals. It is evident also that the goals of educational organizations may be, but rarely are, completely congruent

quote: "The larger and more complex the school system the greater the difficulty of coordination. Every specialized service adds to the possibility for incoordination. And lack of coordination creates confusion and loss of self respect in the individual workers concerned, and ultimately is reflected in lowered efficiency." [12] In contrast, coördination is thoroughly discussed and direct advice is given in textbooks on military, industrial, and commercial management where it is assumed, generally, that coördination is achieved through the use of authority in a hierarchical organization. Only occasionally does one find mention of some other method which will operate successfully.

Coördination should produce conditions which will result in administrators and teachers alike finding pleasure and experiencing the feelings of satisfaction and security which come from successful activity. Ideally, it is the purpose of coördination to achieve conditions which allow, encourage, and facilitate a maximum contribution from each member of the group in terms of the greatest value to the advancement of the group's purposes. Coördination will, of course, strive to promote harmony and is usually compatible with the promotion of harmony. Harmony, however, should not be the dominant end of coördination because, after all, harmony can be passive and the product of group indifference or nonunderstanding acquiescence. Coördination should not be expected to eliminate all conflict. When conflict is not prolonged and when it is so directed that it results in a settlement of differences through interaction and consequent improvement in a basic situation, conflict is wholesome. As discussed later, conflict need not include antagonism or disintegrating emotion.

The general purposes of coördination are efficiency of effort and good personnel relations in achieving group goals. Harmony and conflict should be considered in terms of their contribution to both of these broad purposes.

[12] American Association of School Administrators *Thirtieth Yearbook*, "The American School Superintendency," Washington, D.C., 1952, p. 99.

that duties can be graded, not according to different functions, but according to degrees of authority.

Coördination by the hierarchical method is almost universal. In some form it is found in all types of social institutions and differs only to the degree in which the length of the scale varies. Limitless examples are to be found among vast organizations like the army, the government and large industrial and commercial organizations.

The chief implement of coördination in scalar-chain organizations is coercion, or potential coercion, manifest in threats, reprisals, promises, rewards, and punishments. The ruler is removed from the ruled as a matter of policy. The wider the separation between the ruler and the ruled, the more protected, and hence the more powerful, is the ruler. Power tends to preserve the *status quo*. It tends to beget power and to set up a power class. Popularly we speak of the government and the people, labor and capital, instruction and administration—implying that a class, the "higher ups," "gold braid," "top brass," specialize in coördination. All the wars of history are cited to substantiate the claim that no matter how big the problem of coördination, the hierarchical principle, if wisely employed, will solve it. It is futile to search for new principles of coördination because there is just one. What is demanded, as problems of coördination increase, is just a more advanced application of this age-old hierarchical principle. The problems of coördination can be solved by this fixed principle applied in variable ways. The educator who accepts the hierarchical principle has a firm and tried basis for his procedures of coördination.

Those thinking people who disagree about the value of coördinating by the hierarchical principle—and the number is steadily increasing—contend that the idea of coördinating in terms of hierarchy obviates some need for thinking by those at the lower levels and hence debases them. They contend also that such a plan for coördinating assumes that teachers who rank lower on the scale are incompetent to function organizationally, that higher rank means superior vision, and that teachers can and will achieve individual,

with the goals of the individuals who compose the organization. We shall proceed with our analysis upon the assumption that those educational organizations function best which manage to achieve maximum satisfaction of both individual and organizational goals. When coordination promotes the satisfaction of both kinds of goals and simultaneously fosters the development of congruence between the two kinds of goals, then coördination is conducive to the development of the highest type of human relations.

In one sense we may even go so far as to say that a school does not have goals, that it must be the individual members of the personnel who have the goals. Certainly each member of the personnel has his own goals. Part of these goals should be held in common with the other members of the personnel and as such the goals of the individuals may then become the goals of the institution. Along with his colleagues an individual member of the personnel should feel responsible to contribute to shared goals. Sharing common goals is a step in the achievement of coördination.

Method

How do we get many persons employed to promote broad institutional goals but with differing individual goals to use their efforts in harmonious endeavor? How do we coördinate group effort? What part does authority play in the achievement of coördination? There are three possible, general answers.

THE HIERARCHICAL METHOD. The first is that coördination may be achieved through that kind of organization known as hierarchical. In this method it is assumed that coördination itself contains in its essence a supreme coördinating authority and that there is a formal process through which the coördinating authority operates from the top down through the entire organization of persons.

This method of coördination has been variously named the hierarchical principle of coördination, the scalar principle of coördination, the chain principle of coördination, the scalar-chain principle, and the line and staff principle. It rests upon the further assumption

functions and responsibilities which rests with the group as a whole.

The functional method of coördinating rests upon authority, as does the hierarchical method, but in this case it is authority of organized group intelligence and not authority which results from position on a scale. The functionalist is concerned with the distribution of functions but he is equally concerned that the methods of distributing and coördinating these functions be those which generate group power. Group power may be generated by united group action in studying a situation, in discovering the best procedures in terms of the situation, including the procedures for coördination, and in proceeding in these terms. This would mean that educational personnel could not conceive coördination as an integration of functions determined in the light of a stationary whole but would conceive coördination always in terms of the relation of all the contributions and potential contributions of the entire group to the functions of a dynamic organization.

In other words, there would never be a problem of coördinating the guidance department, for instance, but the problem would be one of coördinating the functions of the guidance department in terms of the entire school picture. Instead of the principal of a high school using his authority to decree that certain guidance functions must be performed in some particular manner, the group concerned with functions to which the guidance department contributes, and the guidance department, would solve the problem of coördination in terms of their specific functions but particularly in terms of their responsibilities for the realization of the aims of the personnel group as a whole. Because of their responsibility for this group-wide function the group has the authority to exert its highest group intelligence toward deciding the matter of coördinating the guidance aspects of the program.

In these terms each member of the personnel has a responsibility to work with the group for the group-wide functions and also has the specific responsibility to work with the group in exercising its coördinating authority. All functions and responsibilities are in-

personal objectives which are externally and administratively imposed, despite the fact that the objectives may be neither clear to the teacher nor appreciated by him. It is argued that adhering to hierarchy as a method for achieving coördination frustrates efforts to make education democratic, because under such a plan few decide aims for the many. It is further argued by those who believe that the principle is not a perfect answer that coördination in terms of hierarchical organization introduces cleavages in the personnel of educational institutions which, theoretically at least, are supposed to be relatively classless. Finally, because it causes the person or persons in authority to be separated from the group and to be associated with power rather than with sharing and working with the group, the separation in relationships is in space and is a social fact as well as a mark of a differentiated function. It is illustrated by the practice of having centralized offices in school buildings with signs marked "Offices of Administration," implying that coördination and all functions of administration are localized and specialized.

THE FUNCTIONAL METHOD. A second method of coördination, one which is advocated by critics of the scalar-chain principle of organization, categorically denies the suitability of hierarchical authority for this purpose and proposes instead a so-called functional principle as the guide to coördination.[13] The functional theory holds that work should be divided so that each member of the group can perform the functions for which he is best fitted. However, it holds further that performing a specific function to the best of one's ability does not discharge the individual's complete responsibility because, as a member of the group, he assumes along with the specific functions of his job, a responsibility for the functions of the group as a whole, and coördination is one of the

[13] Many able students believe that functionalization in social organization is inevitable but, for the present, not entirely possible. For the nature of the arguments see John Lee, "The Pros and Cons of Functionalization" in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, *Papers on the Science of Administration*, New York: Columbia University Institute of Public Administration, 1937, Chapter IX and especially p. 175.

contended that in functional coördination the powers of the individual are released in a group situation through which coöperation contributes to ordered and orderly institutional change. Hierarchical coördination tends to obstruct natural and logical change, but functional coördination, in using organized intelligence as the pivot for action, implies a freedom to explore and to experiment, to weigh, and test results and to assume responsibility for consequences.

HIERARCHICAL-FUNCTIONAL METHOD. The third method of coördinating educational personnel, and the one which seems most feasible and practical in terms of contemporary conditions, is a combination of the most suitable features of both the hierarchical and the functional principles. The hierarchical pattern for organization, which is interwoven in the pattern of educational groups partly because it seems natural to social living, because it is accepted as a part of the school picture, and because it has been successfully used in organizations like the military, is not entirely eliminated. It is retained, however, only in the simplest form possible. This simplest form is combined with certain features of the functional pattern of coördination.

Ranks, titles, and classifications are kept at a minimum. The administrator acts as final authority on matters involving coördination. However, he makes a conclusive decision only when it is appropriate that he do so in terms of the intellectual resources of the group or because of some special emergency or other unusual feature of the immediate situation. As infrequently as possible he behaves in the manner of the boss. His management tends toward the functional and it is his policy to have decisions made by the group with contributions from the individual, or the group of persons, best qualified.

In the field of higher education, coördination achieved through the organization of the graduate school is an example of the hierarchical-functional combination. The graduate school personnel comprises a group of diverse experts whose activities are coördinated in terms of a simple hierarchy which provides for a chief

herently conceived in terms of the whole and in terms of a whole which is constantly changing and developing. Therefore the problem of coördination is determined not only in terms of the complete school organizational picture but in terms of the complete school organizational picture as it is under present circumstances and with due regard to its flexible nature.

In the group situation where the functional method of coördination is followed, so proponents of the method argue, the key man is the man with knowledge and experience which are brought into focus in terms of immediate considerations and contributed to the group. Pertinent knowledge and experience may have no relation to official position or rank in the organization and therefore the contributions are not related to hierarchy. This means that, in terms of the functionalist point of view, coördination can be achieved best only if the basic coöperation is not limited by hierarchical barriers. In these terms, each member of the educational personnel will have a greater concern with function and role in terms of the entire group than he will with position or rank. His concern with the responsibilities of his function in reference to the educational enterprise will be much greater than his concern with the matter of to whom he is responsible. In other words, the teacher will work *with* all other members of the educational personnel and will not work *under* some member of the personnel. No individual will have the privilege of following orders blindly without giving them thought because each must assume a contributing share of the responsibility for coördination and must collaborate as an active participant in a functional unity. One person will not give orders to another but both will agree to take their orders from the situation. Leadership will not be concerned with getting people to obey orders but with how to devise methods by which the group will be aided in discovering the order which is the appropriate outgrowth of a particular situation.

A final argument of the functionalists is concerned with progress. Whereas hierarchical coördination limits the variable factors among the personnel which encourage orderly and intentional change, it is

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administrator. The structure of authority and coördinating procedures are developed by the group in the light of contributions from the experts in varied fields. In the public schools the combination of hierarchical-functional type of coördination is often successfully utilized by the teaching principal.

School superintendents who attempt to move toward simplification, to coördinate on a more functional basis are likely to find themselves hampered by a rigid hierarchical organization which, for instance, gives assistant superintendents authority which they naturally desire to conserve and which their professional training has prepared them to take for granted as the only practical method for coördination. Typically it is difficult to simplify a hierarchy consisting of "career" personnel and to provide for redistribution of authority on a more functional basis.

How would a combination hierarchical-functional plan for coördination operate in a local elementary school? To begin with, the principal of that local, neighborhood school would be the coördinator of all its services. However, the function of coördination would involve the services of all members of the staff. Each person on the staff would be equal in rank, on the same salary scale, and each would be some kind of specialist. The organization would revolve around the specialists—the teaching specialists—the fourth-grade teacher, the third-grade teacher; the resource specialists in such areas as library, arts, crafts, music, visual aids, health, recreation, and the like. The teaching specialist would be responsible for a given classroom and would be the coördinator of the entire program for all the children in that classroom. Resource specialists, like the teacher librarian, would furnish the coördinating teacher with desired help and materials by going directly into the classroom or by having the teacher-specialist or the teacher-specialist together with the children come to the library or some other place, depending upon the nature of the work and the kind of help needed. In no instance would a resource specialist disrupt the children's progress because he would furnish help only at times indi-

cated by the needs of the classroom as determined by the teacher and the pupils.

The coördinating, as such, left to the principal would involve clearing the way for scheduling the various services which the resource persons are able to give and also scheduling the use of any of the resource centers such as library, crafts shop, music room, and auditorium.

In combination hierarchical-functional coördination, the principal and each member of the personnel will work together in terms of common goals related to the actual needs of the pupils. Each sees his individual role always in relation to the common purpose of the entire school group functioning as a unit. The teacher will be the coördinator of the work of all the pupils under his charge, but the principal will be the coördinator of all the services afforded by the school. The principal will coördinate, but he will determine the details of coördination by working with the entire personnel group or those especially concerned. The resource person in music will see his contribution in the light of his specialty only as it belongs naturally in the complete picture of the school fulfilling the needs of the children. There will be no differentiated ranks among the specialists. All will be performing specialized services of one kind or another for the children.

The combination functional-hierarchical method of coördination is somewhat analogous to a family organization where each member recognizes that it is essential for him to make certain contributions to the maintenance of the home and the welfare of the family. Each makes his contribution in terms of the needs of the entire group, as they arise, and in terms of his ability in relation to the others in the family. Although parental authority exists, it is used infrequently. This is a far cry from the patriarchical type of family where coördination is achieved entirely on a hierarchical basis.

CURRENT TRENDS. Confidence in the principle of hierarchical authority as the *only* effective method of achieving coördination in educational organization is declining. It is, at least, widely admitted now that many problems remain unsolved when the prin-

ciple is rigidly applied in schools. As the personnel becomes more intelligent, becomes more competent through training and experience, the trend, perhaps, will be toward a greater use of functionalism as a method of coördination. However, because most present educational systems are organized largely in terms of the principle of hierarchical authority and because positions of prestige and authority are considered hard-earned privileges and are looked upon as lifetime careers, the hierarchical principle will, at least for some time, continue to be the main basis for coördination within the educational group. Here and there, however, there are increasing numbers of examples of the use of the simplified hierarchical-functional type of coördination.

There are some indications in education that the trend, at least in thinking, is toward simplification of hierarchy and toward the greater use of functionalism in coördination. In some large cities supervisors are now on titular and salary levels with the classroom teachers they help. Superintendents who have made this kind of change have observed that it has been followed by instant and striking improvements in personnel relations. The resource specialists, too, usually like the new arrangement. Some high school principals have dispensed with departments and department heads as part of their organization. The school principal, in such simpler organization, tends to be a coördinator who works together with the group and to be less of a disciplinarian and chief office worker. The time seems to have arrived for experiments in educational organization in the increased use of functional coördination and in simplified hierarchical patterns. However, even though the disadvantages of the hierarchical method of coördination may be obvious, experimentation with a simplification of the hierarchy and increased utilization of more functional methods of coördination tend to be retarded by a shortage in the kind of personnel required to make the newer methods practical. Despite obstacles, however, new patterns of coördination are emerging. The new patterns are of great significance in the personnel relations picture.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

What are some of the implications of these understandings about organization? What light have we shed on our problem of improving personnel relations in an educational organization?

We have seen that organization is inevitable because man is interdependent and must work in groups. Traditionally groups of men have organized so that members of the group assume positions of varying degrees of power and prestige and privilege. This kind of hierarchical arrangement has become intrenched in educational organization. The structure of authority, that crystallization, in the minds of the staff, of their understandings of the conduct of their group activities in terms of the distribution of responsibility, leadership, and power, is basic to the function of coördination. Despite the traditional acceptance of a hierarchical organization, which means that coördination is performed in accordance with definite authority and control assigned to individuals because of rank or position, there is somewhat of a trend toward moving away from coördination which operates wholly on a hierarchical pattern toward a more functional type of coördination in our schools.

That this trend is desirable is implied in our analysis of some principles of educational organization. As we continue in the next chapter with a study of some specific personal relations problems which grow out of the educational organization as it operates, we shall refer back to some of these principles of organization for help in analyzing the organizational problems and in searching for solutions which have promise in the cause of good personal relations. We shall attempt to determine whether the implication that the trend toward a functional-hierarchical method of coördination in educational organizations is desirable when evaluated in the light of specific personnel problems which are related to the organization in operation.

3

Organization in Operation

We have seen that when an educational group is organized, a design, which always includes a structure of authority, is established and that the principal purpose of the organization is the coördination of human effort. Relations among the individuals who comprise the organized group assume characteristics which are more or less directly influenced by this design. Whatever the design, each member of the personnel is not only conscious of his relationship to each and to all other members of the organization, but he accepts the fact that, as the organization operates, any marked propensity to deviate from the expected order will cause him to be subjected to a certain measure of compulsion.

Close, critical examination of operation in current educational organizations, or better still, direct evaluation of the manner of operation of the educational organization with which one is affiliated—examination in terms of the quality of human relations which the organization fosters and promotes—will result in an awareness that despite many highly desirable features there is much that could be improved in the operation of present-day educational organizations if improvement in human relations is adopted as a conscious aim. Human relations problems related to the organization are perhaps more acute today than ever before. It is toward certain of these selected and representative problems, human relations problems which are somewhat directly related to the manner in which

organizations operate and to the prevailing nature of organizational policy, that we now turn our attention.

AS RELATED TO SELECTED PERSONNEL RELATIONS PROBLEMS

Undesirable Attitudes

In any educational organization one will usually find personnel who frequently express negative attitudes toward the organization. We may tend to view such individuals as habitual attention getters, promotion seekers, or just plain negativists of the nonadjustive type. It may not have occurred to us that often these negative attitudes are symptoms of a general lack of feeling of well-being which has become persistent and which is perpetuated by the manner in which the organization is operating. What are some of the more common negative attitudes of the personnel which seem to have a close circular relationship to the organization? For purposes of analysis they may be classified into four groups: an attitude of detachment from the organization; the attitude of partial identification with the organization; the attitude of frustration by the organization; and the proprietary attitude or attitude of ownership of some part of the organization.

Generally those who have these attitudes are not aware that they possess them nor are they conscious that they are constantly giving a kind of overt expression to them which has a deteriorating effect on human relationships. Those of us who may realize that our fellow staff members possess them may not be aware that the attitudes are symptoms, pathological symptoms, of a rather general lack of feeling of well-being on the part of the possessor and that this feeling state may be of organizational origin.

By examining the negative attitudes critically and by perhaps identifying their origins or at least discovering any possible foundation they may have in the organization itself, we may expect to get some light on desirable changes in organizational procedures.

Certainly, strong, persistent, negative attitudes toward the organization are incompatible with good personnel relations. If the negative attitudes have a base in the organization, how can we move toward changes to eliminate them?

DETACHMENT. The first unwholesome attitude examined is the attitude of detachment which leads to a kind of undesirable behavior somewhat like the kind of behavior exhibited by personnel in certain aggressive commercial organizations. Upon entering a large chain drugstore, a customer told the attractive saleslady that he would like to buy a one-pound jar of brushless shaving cream.

"The only pound jar we have is Super-Shave," she replied. "It is ninety-eight cents a pound. You will do much better if you buy three ten ounce jars of our own brand which is on sale at $1.89."

After a little mental arithmetic he asked, "How much will I save?"

"Well," she replied, "let us figure it out. There are twenty-four ounces in a pound so the Super-Shave would cost you approximately four cents an ounce. Then thirty ounces of our brand at $1.89 would cost per ounce . . ." There she hesitated.

"Now," he said, "by your own figuring, are you not recommending a bad bargain?"

"No," she replied. "That cannot be. My figures must be wrong. I work for the world's greatest drugstore organization. When the company tells me that one sale is better than another I am positive it is so."

But this attitude is not confined to the personnel of commercial organizations. At a convention of public school administrators a famous superintendent of one of the largest public school systems implied, in his speech, that the organization in which he worked was one of the largest and therefore one of the best. Since it was one of the largest and therefore one of the best, the listener was expected to assume that all the activities and achievements of the organization were superior. It was expected that the audience take for granted that the large number of administrative personnel in

the system—all of whom were highly selected and well trained, had power and influence and enjoyed the advantages of social prestige —made incongruous any critical examination of the activities of the school system. Since the organization was of the best, all that "it" did was of the best. The superintendent, like the drugstore clerk, had an attitude toward organization of unquestioning followership and freedom from responsibility for participation in critical evaluation, possible improvement, or advancement. Strangely enough, the audience, consisting mostly of administrators, liked the speech.

Later, one of the older and abler teachers from this same so-called superior school system made remarks which constituted a large-scale attack upon "the organization." His comments, like the superintendent's, were also reminiscent of the attitude displayed by the drugstore saleslady. Once more the organization was conceived as something remote and detached from the personnel. The teacher spoke as a spectator critically reviewing an exhibit. The main difference between his attitude and that of the saleslady or of the superintendent was that while to them all that "the organization" stood for was good and therefore to be accepted, to him that which was included in "the organization" was bad and was to be totally and blasphemously rejected.

The behavior of all three revealed that they all conceived the organization as a kind of framework, separate and detached from them, not something concrete like brick or mortar, and not something which incorporates ideas. Instead, they conceived organization as some kind of a mystical entity. "It" in the minds of the two educators was not a part of the process of education. "It" was something that existed above and apart for purposes of administering what went on in education.

Some businessmen may point out, in the case of the saleslady, that she had not given thought to the problems of organization in a large sales chain because she was only one very limited part of that chain. Her sole business was to promote sales and it was not her business to be very critical of her organization or the methods its management advocated in order to attract trade. On the other

hand, there are many business leaders who do not desire that the employee behave in a manner based on an attitude of detachment from the organization. These businessmen would question the judgment of the saleslady or perhaps express some doubt about the quality of the sales training program to which she had been exposed.

In any case, in an educational or a commercial organization, from the standpoint of individual and group welfare wide prevalence of the attitude of detachment toward the organization on the part of the employed group can scarcely be expected to be conducive to improving the quality of human relationships within the organization.

PARTIAL IDENTIFICATION. A second common negative attitude toward educational organization is that of completely and whole-heartedly identifying one's self with one aspect of the organization and disregarding in large degree most of the other aspects. A large city school system was debating the wisdom of changing from the 6-3-3-2 system of organization to an 8-4-2 system. This involved giving up, among other things, general shop for ninth-grade boys. In one of the meetings where the matter was discussed, a parent expressed an opinion that providing boys with six kinds of experiences in a single course in shop encourages superficiality in school work because the pupils, he argued, cannot learn even one of the six skills in a single year. As a boy he had spent six weeks in a class in manual training learning to make a joint and had learned to do that one thing so well that he had never forgotten how to make it. No shop teacher was present to explain the educational values thought to be inherent in a year's instruction in general shop, so an English teacher undertook to do it. He made a feeble analysis of an aspect of the school's work about which he knew little. His conclusion was that the parent was right. Shop work, he stated dogmatically, was pleasant for the boys and hence suitable for those of low ability but the educational value of the subject was, he said, seriously questioned by all subject matter teachers.

If the English teacher had been concerned with the effects of

what he said upon human relations and had taken seriously his obligation for improving personnel relations in his own organization would he not have acquainted himself with the program of his colleagues in the industrial arts area before he spoke with such assurance? Had he done so might his relations with shop teachers have been raised to a higher level? Even from the standpoint of his own personal gain might he not have profited from communication with the industrial arts teacher just because the industrial arts teacher had had experiences and training different from his?

The English teacher not only exhibited a personal narrowness when he failed to attempt to understand aspects of the school outside his field but he showed an almost utter disregard for the rights of his fellow teachers. By speaking without understanding he left the impression with some of the parents and with his co-workers that he was the kind of individual accustomed to speaking from prejudice and hearsay. Their trust in his judgment and their respect for him as a person must have been weakened thereby. Even in this case, however, the organization itself was undoubtedly at least in some way partly responsible for the negative attitude of partial identification with the group. An organization which is deficient in making fluent intercommunication and wholesome interaction among the personnel easy and natural may be entirely, or at least partially, responsible for this kind of attitude.

The attitude of sincere identification with one particular aspect of the organization and a lack of interest, understanding, and appreciation of other aspects of the organization are somewhat common, and perhaps not entirely avoidable, in all educational institutions and at all grade levels. The guidance personnel, as example, may be so earnestly devoted to solving the guidance problems of the high school, in terms of the understandings and facilities peculiar to the guidance department, that their breadth of vision and appreciation of the possible contributions to and from other departments and individuals in the organization are deplorably limited. The physical education teacher may feel that all the health problems in the school could be solved in his department if the school board

supplied everything that the physical education teacher believes necessary for a strong health education department. The college and university scandals of recent years centering around the administration of athletics have eventuated largely because of this kind of attitude on the part of the directors of athletic programs in the colleges and universities.

In one way behavior resulting from an attitude of limited identification with the whole organization is desirable. For instance, the first-grade teacher exhibits a very desirable attitude in his complete identification with his classroom group. The attitude becomes undesirable, in terms of personnel relations, only when the teacher does not see the relation and possible contribution of his many activities to all the other parts of the organization and the relation of the other parts to first-grade teaching.

Those who are completely identified with their own duties will usually devote themselves whole-heartedly to a solution of their specific problems and to the achievement of their particular aims. That is highly desirable. It is when these individuals fail to see or even to attempt to see the relation of their work to the work of all those others who are identified with the organization that their activities may not be so much of an aid to group achievement as they should be.

The following instance will illustrate how the organization itself sometimes leads to this attitude of incomplete identification. In some high schools a special, simplified, practical course in mathematics is provided by the mathematics teachers for those who do not do well in mathematics. By modifying the mathematics subject matter and setting up a special class, it is assumed that the most effective adjustment to the mathematical abilities of the pupils has been made. Generally the adaptation is worked out by the teachers in the mathematics department, as a department, with the encouragement of the head of the department and the high school principal. The guidance department, whose function it is to help pupils after problems arise, finds that it is called on to counsel with a student who has been assigned to this particular mathematics sec-

tion. The guidance department may determine that the pupil has
an adjustment problem related to his assignment to the special
mathematics class. However, what the guidance worker can do is
definitely limited because the guidance department has no oppor-
tunity to work with the mathematics department in developing its
program of adjustment and has access to no official channel for
communication with the mathematics department. If negative reac-
tion by the guidance department to the mathematics program were
openly expressed it would be considered a transgression, a violation
of good taste. The guidance department therefore adopts an atti-
tude of partial identification and attempts to help the pupils
achieve the best personal adjustment possible without seeking for
any modification of the work in mathematics. The mathematics
department, also, continues with its attitude of incomplete identi-
fication and works for achievement in the subject matter area of
mathematics without regard for all-round pupil adjustment.

Numerous able college students who have been graduated from
high schools where the mathematics curriculum was modified to
accommodate students who do unusually well in mathematics have
reported to me that they were frequently embarrassed in high
school because they were singled out for high classification while
their closest friends looked on with envy. They never communi-
cated their embarrassment to the guidance department, however,
because they knew that the guidance department had nothing to
say about the mathematics setup. The pupils realized that restrain-
ing and almost impenetrable boundary lines are the rule in rigidly
departmentalized high schools and that their relations with the per-
sonnel must be governed accordingly.

Partial identification may occur even in cases where depart-
mental lines are not a restraining feature. A guidance teacher, for
instance, may help a pupil solve an immediate adjustment problem.
However, if he fails to recognize that, as a guidance teacher, he
has a broad responsibility to do all that he can to assist in the
improvement of any part of the school organization which seems
to contribute to this and other adjustment problems or if, in the

case of a failing pupil, the guidance teacher does not feel a personal responsibility to explore the problem from an administrative angle, a teacher angle and a curriculum adjustment angle, he is exhibiting the attitude of partial identification. Of course, the guidance teacher should, and probably will, do all that he can within what he considers to be the proper functions of the guidance department. In addition, however, the guidance teacher should be free or even expected to look beyond the boundary lines of his whole-hearted identification. The organization should be such as to encourage the guidance worker to offer extra services wherever he sees that he may be helpful, but in addition, he should feel a personal responsibility for doing so. It is only by actually attempting to understand, to utilize, and to share with others in the broadly conceived pertinent parts of the organization that a guidance teacher, or any other teacher, can be identified with the functioning of the entire school in an organizational sense.

The attitude of contracted identification is not limited to the teaching personnel. It can also extend to any member of an educational organization who views his work as an end in itself. Thus a grade school principal may evaluate plans, activities, and details of organization in terms of immediate, administrative convenience and efficiency and not from the broad perspective of long-time, all-round facilitation of the work of others and general organizational improvement. Perhaps, when such a principal has permanent tenure in his office, that tenure encourages him to gravitate away from the concrete problems of individual pupils and individual teachers. Actually, every member of an educational organization needs to be alert to the adverse effects of incomplete identification with the organization. Each individual has to make the same conscious struggle against the tendency to act in isolation, the temptation to interpret the problems of the organization with undue emphasis upon his own specialized functions. No member of the personnel is exempt from the temptation.

FRUSTRATION. Not only may the school personnel exhibit an attitude of complete separation from the school organiza-

tion or of only partial identification but certain members of the personnel may show by their behavior that they consider the organization as a frustration—a necessary evil, an agency which hampers rather than promotes their achievements, which obstructs rather than facilitates that which they are attempting. This attitude can become so prevalent among teachers as to create a strong psychological barrier between the teachers and the administrators, reflected in the old quip of the college professors that there are just two groups of people in most college organizations: the administrators and the enemies of the administrators.

The genesis of such an attitude is not always easy to locate but usually the attitude is traceable to misunderstandings that result from inadequate communication and unsatisfactory group participation. If a teacher does not understand the value of and the need for the records which the principal requests that he complete, he may resent giving his time to making out the records and may feel that that work takes him away from what he believes he should be doing. If the teacher has many experiences of this kind he begins to feel that the organization, generally, is a frustration to the realization of his own personal goals. As a consequence, he may not only resent having to perform the routine duties, he may, perhaps unjustly, also build up a resentment against the persons who request that he perform the routine duties.

The attitude of frustration is sometimes fostered by the manner in which school rules and regulations are both formulated and executed. School rules which are exceedingly lengthy or apparently unfruitful accentuate the feeling that the organization is a frustration.

The following is a statement from a notice of the rules for parking in an inadequately managed and grossly overcrowded parking lot. The notice was sent to the personnel in a large university by a well-meaning administrator who was perhaps bent on solving a perplexing problem without being sufficiently conscious of the human relations factors involved.

Violation of any of the following regulations will result in the driver's

receiving a parking violation ticket which requires a payment of a fine of $2.00 if paid within five days, or $5.00 thereafter:

1. All faculty cars using the university parking lot must have a university parking sticker properly displayed.

2. Use of the parking lot will be in accordance with the signs displayed in the lot and with these regulations.

3. No cars shall park in the lot so as to obstruct proper ingress and egress from the lot.

4. Cars are not permitted to drive or park on any grassed areas of the campus.

5. Cars will not be permitted to park on any of the walks or roads surrounding the campus.

6. Cars will not be permitted to park in any areas in the parking lot except those spaces which are designated for parking purposes.

7. Attach sticker as per instructions.

8. The small serial numbers on the sticker must not be altered or obliterated.

Beginning with the Monday of the third week of classes in the fall and continuing until the close of school, the lot will be checked and parking fines assessed for violations of parking regulations. During this time, faculty members should not park in the faculty lot while waiting for a sticker after application is made, but must have a sticker affixed to the car.

The complete directions which filled two mimeographed pages continued in this same curt tone. The mere receipt of such arbitrarily stated regulations resulted in a feeling of frustration among the members of the faculty. No professor paid a fine without a feeling of resentment.

Organizational arrangements which serve as restraints upon the personnel and in the setting up of which the personnel has been prohibited from playing a part foster the feeling that the organization is a frustration. Such organizational arrangements usually provide that decisions which members of the personnel believe they should share in making are made by others. Teachers and professors in universities are often given no voice in many important educational matters which seriously concern them. Perhaps, for instance, public school teachers are denied representation at school board meetings. Experience has shown that, where teachers along

with others, are regularly represented at board meetings, both board and teachers tend to have more wholesome attitudes toward, and improved understanding of, the organization, and usually the administrators tend to have increased confidence and pleasure in guiding and directing the group. Prohibiting teachers from actively participating in the determination of broad and vital policies of the organization by contending that this is the exclusive function of the board or of the superintendent will encourage the feeling that the organization is a frustration.

Perhaps in no area does organization appear to the teachers to be so persistent a frustration as in organizational policy toward salaries. Despite the fact that theorists consistently advocate a written salary schedule which the personnel has shared in determining, and in which increases are automatic, and despite the further fact that experience has shown that a salary schedule thus drawn up leads to improvement in personal relations, in some instances it still remains board policy to keep all matters pertaining to salaries as secret as possible. Members of the personnel experience a strong feeling of frustration when they do not know the career opportunities which are open to them, when they realize that salaries may be manipulated by the college president, the board or the superintendent, when they notice that bigger rewards go to those in the more influential positions or discover that rewards are determined on a personally biased basis or realize that each teacher or professor must promote his own interests or learn that there is no continuing, institutional fiscal policy or long-term budget policy.

The following is a quotation from a committee report made to the faculty of a university in which professors had asked that some policy toward faculty salaries be stated: "The committee met with the Vice-President on March 6. We found the Vice-President, like the other administrative officers, cordial but adamant against publication of salaries, or a fixed salary scale." Considerable frustration is felt by the personnel of an organization in which salaries and salary policy are kept as closely guarded administrative secrets.

A personnel group feels and is, in fact, frustrated when it is told

that general personnel participation in solving problems which seriously affect the welfare of the personnel is not permissible because solving the more serious problems is, organizationally, the president's or the superintendent's exclusive prerogative. Active effort in this realm must stop at the president's door! Work assiduously as a group on the curriculum, work diligently with the children and the students and with parents but do not cross that unseen but nevertheless real and impenetrable, frustrating boundary line between what is administration and what constitutes instruction. It goes without saying that the two inseparables, if separated, are disunited at great cost to human relations.

OWNERSHIP. Another negative attitude toward educational organization frequently found among educational personnel is based on distorted perspective somewhat like the attitude of incomplete identification. In this case, however, the individual sees his own part in the organization as personal property and is aggressively possessive about the privileges and rights of his position. Often such an attitude leads to conflict because an individual who feels he has exclusive rights to one part of an organization clashes with other members who "infringe" on what he believes are his rights.

Looking upon a position as a guarantee of personal rights is very different from looking upon a position as an opportunity to function coöperatively in group service. An office manager in a high school or the registrar in a university may be acutely conscious of the prestige and privileges of his position, be very interested in what members of the personnel must contribute to his office—usually data of various kinds—and be entirely unaware that actually his office is established as a service unit to assist and guide the personnel in their educational activities. His behavior is more in the spirit of ownership than in service to the staff.

The proprietary attitude toward a part of the organization, involving as it does a perspective distorted by undue emphasis upon personal ownership of some part of the organization with an implied guarantee to personal and exclusive rights, is vicious not only

in that it renders the individual less valuable in contributing to the organization as a whole, makes him less coöperative and understanding, but also because it is frequently reflected in autocratic tendencies in discharging the responsibilities of the job.

The classroom teacher or the college professor with the proprietary attitude tends to look upon himself as the final authority in that which he considers his personal domain. He is arbitrary in deciding such matters as what constitutes satisfactory achievement, promotion, failure, and discipline. He may act as though he actually believes he owns the laboratory, the classroom, or some piece of special equipment. He behaves as an autocrat. The proprietary attitude toward a particular organizational aspect of a school, with distorted depreciation of the organization as a whole, may even affect teaching. It may, for instance, encourage teachers to make classroom control an extrinsic matter and thereby cause a teacher not even to attempt to encourage intrinsic control.

A sympathetic administrator who recognizes the proprietary attitude on the part of an individual in the personnel will often find that the individual has not made a satisfactory adjustment in his personal relations. Dissatisfactions, lack of feeling of stability, and insecure prestige, which are often involved in personal relations adjustment problems may sometimes be reduced through active participation in worthy school-wide projects and by sharing in the formulation of important school policy. An administrator who deliberately stresses the relation of all parts of the organization to the organization as a whole, who makes a point of providing opportunity for and recognizing services to the organization as a whole, may be helping to minimize undesirable effects of the proprietary attitude and may even be helping to eliminate the attitude itself.

When the proprietary attitude is assumed by an ambitious administrator, which is sometimes the case, it is characterized by hoarding and jealous guarding of power. The attitude is then most difficult to deal with. Seemingly, power in the hands of such a school administrator tends to justify itself to its possessor, and psychologically urges him toward aggrandizement and irrespon-

sibility. Even in the most generous men who occupy positions of great influence, the love of mastery may become dominant. When this happens the desire to serve unselfishly progressively wanes. No educational administrator is entirely exempt from the temptation because, as Lyman Bryson expresses it:

. . . it is useful . . . to recall that the administrator has a primary task in keeping his own power as against rivals both inside and outside his own organization. It is a romantic notion of power, which ought to be blown out of an academician's imagination in his first experience as a committee chairman, that a man who struggles to get power can, having gained it, loll back and think about the good of his enterprise. He has, in fact, moved himself not to a seat of thoughtful leisure but to the center of a popular target. And to some extent, the greater the emoluments and the prestige of his position, the less he can think about anything but keeping it.[1]

Those school administrators, and there are many of them, who do much to improve human relations in the educational organization are those who are at all times conscious that their principal function is to serve the personnel, to collaborate with the others who are members of the organization, and conscientiously to guard against proprietary emphasis, even when the temptation is altogether on the other side.

There is, of course, a wide variation among school administrators in their ability to render service to individuals and to groups. It seems, however, that those who are eminently successful are those who possess what seems almost a natural talent for working for and with others and for getting others to work with them. Almost always it is true that those administrators whose actions are most deeply felt and appreciated by their colleagues, who are most skilled in building and maintaining good personal relations, are those who live close to the personnel, who are looked upon as friends of the personnel, who share widely with all others who are

[1] Lyman Bryson in Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, R. M. MacIver, Richard P. McKeon, *Freedom and Authority in Our Time*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, p. 87.

part of the personnel. Such administrators withhold few secrets. They make no pretenses. They hold no illusions that they are uncommon men. They are always accessible, never aloof. None of them regards the administrative position which he occupies as something to be prized and guarded as if he possessed permanent ownership. Rather, he sees the administrative position in its facilitating relationships to the other members of the personnel, as a position which provides opportunity and entails responsibility for service. His view of the administrator's functions is that they include nothing which should leave the impression that he is the proprietor of the position he occupies.

We may conclude, then, that the presence, to any considerable degree, of negative attitudes of detachment, partial identification, frustration, or ownership in an educational personnel is symptomatic of a lack of feeling of well-being which, more likely than not, is the result of some kind of malfunctioning of the processes of organization. Perhaps all of us, upon occasion, have given evidence of possessing a negative attitude toward the organization and have not recognized that our behavior indicated a degree of unsatisfactoriness in our human relations. When the negative attitudes lead to behavior which reflects varying degrees of personal disorganization among members of a group, it is important to be alert to the fact that such attitudes possibly have roots in some kind of more serious malfunctioning of the organization. In our attempt to improve relations among members of the group by seeking to change negative attitudes, it is well to begin by analyzing the manner in which the organization is operating.

Excessive Mobility

Because educational personnel, like personnel in other vocational fields, enjoy the privileges of class membership, they also are afforded the advantages and disadvantages of occupational mobility. A teacher may transfer from a small system to a larger one. A grade school teacher may transfer to high school teaching, then to

college teaching or to a principalship. On the whole, the transfer to more advanced positions in educational organization follows a fairly definite pattern perhaps appropriately illustrated by the advancement to the position of superintendent in the public schools.[2] In reaching the position as administrative head of a school district within a county, or the county superintendency, the educator will usually follow one pattern, in reaching the superintendency of medium-size school cities he will follow another pattern, while in progressing to the superintendency of a very large city system he is likely to follow still another route. A high school teacher, for instance, may advance to become a department head, then a high school principal, then, after some years become superintendent of schools. In a large city the path to the superintendency may be by way of teaching in high school, becoming a grade school principal, then a high school principal, then a district superintendent, then an assistant superintendent and finally, if the educator survives all this, he may, or he may not, become a city school superintendent. Once he has reached this pinnacle he is still surrounded with a degree of insecurity.[3]

Ascent cannot be assured everyone because ascent depends upon openings at higher levels. To make openings there must be expansion or retirement, resignation, or removal. Some measure of descent as well as ascent is characteristic of the pattern. Movement may be downward as well as upward. The average tenure of public school superintendents is relatively short, variously estimated at from six to ten years. Dismissal and demotion are fairly common. Descent in an educational organization is always accompanied by poignant personal problems. Usually, a superintendent who is dismissed will leave the school system. He may move to the superintendency of another school system of comparable size. He may become a professor of public school administration in a college or

[2] See David Mitchell Smith and Norman Ziff, "The Preparation and Experience of Ohio City Superintendents," *Educational Research Bulletin*, November 11, 1953, pp. 197–201.

[3] See "Security of Administrators," *Thirty-third Yearbook*, American Association of School Administrators, 1955, pp. 164–165.

university. Sometimes he makes his exit from the education profession by way of commercial employment such as textbook representative of a publishing company or educational adviser to a food manufacturing corporation. In all cases where the mobility among top administrators is excessive, undesirable personal relations problems are likely to be characteristic of the faculty group.

Two general and related effects of mobility in the profession are especially significant in dealing with problems of personnel relations. These are the effects on the individual of his own constant desire to advance and the effects on the individual of the general emphasis upon mobility throughout the entire profession.

MOTIVES. Typically in education considerable emphasis is placed upon advancement. Seemingly, however, little thought has been given to a most important aspect of advancement, namely, what is or what should be the nature of motives which lead an individual to desire promotion? What are the psychological effects, both upon the individual and upon those with whom he has relations when he earnestly seeks to achieve these motives?

Unfortunately, often those who are higher in the traditional hierarchical scale of authority in an educational organization are those who simply aspired to be higher in the scalar social chain and who have employed methods suitable to realizing that kind of ambition. An administrator, for instance, such as a university president, a public school superintendent, or someone else in a comparable position, may have attained that position not because he is convinced that his experiences and his emotional make-up seem especially to prepare him to do well the many, varied, and often monotonous tasks required of an administrator, not because he desires unreservedly to sacrifice himself to aiding others to do their work well, but rather because he desires the salary, the power, and the prestige accorded those at the higher, or administrator's end, of the scale. His motives will determine somewhat the method he will use in order to obtain the advancement.

Motive to rise may not only affect the method an individual uses to obtain advancement, it may also lessen the satisfactions he de-

rives from his current position and present work. A young man, teaching in the seventh grade, may divert much of his attention from the seventh grade toward those activities which he feels will accelerate his approach to a graded-school principalship. It seems unfortunate, for example, when a teacher in a rural school who knows rural sociology and is trained and experienced and successful in teaching an eight-grade or four-year rural school, takes little pride in his achievement but strives to locate a position in a near-by city school system in which his much-needed rural specialization will be largely wasted.

Usually the desire to move is not a desire to gain a position demanding greater competence or affording wider opportunity for service. Actually, any area of education furnishes challenge sufficient to engage the highest professional competence and brilliance. Ideally educational organization would operate so that this would be a reigning educational tradition. Pestalozzi found challenge in teaching indigent children. Froebel found the kindergarten a field to claim the efforts of the best minds. The history of education is replete with such examples of teachers who contributed greatly but never rose high on the titular scale.

The school superintendent or college dean who attempts to meet problems associated with teacher mobility will find that his most promising opportunity lies in fostering organizational action which actually attaches the highest importance to all the staff members in the organizational scheme rather than to a selected few.

Even the fact that the motive to advance on a hierarchical scale will give educational personnel stimulation for added training is not an unmixed blessing because the motivation for advancement frequently has an adverse effect on the kind and quality of training the individual seeks. If a teacher in the elementary school, for instance, considers a move into secondary education an advancement, he will turn his study toward gaining an understanding of secondary education and will lessen his efforts through training to improve his competence in his present work in the elementary school. One who aspires to be a principal will pursue training which leads to a

principalship and probably will abandon efforts for specialized training to improve his present work in the classroom.

Personal loyalties also are affected by motives to rise. Personal loyalties are ideally a desirable accompaniment of devotion to one's work. When a person has one eye on what is considered the step ahead he usually does not have strong personal loyalties for persons or institutional goals which are part of the current situation. Instead he will probably have an attitude of impersonalization toward his work. If his attitude is more or less typical of the staff as a whole, the personnel will reflect this attitude generally.

A member of the personnel who is attempting to move as soon as there is an opportunity is not likely to develop close ties with his present associates. Because of the hierarchical system he customarily has little opportunity or encouragement to develop close professional ties with those who rank above or below him. Because he develops a feeling of detachment of varying intensity toward the present group he will never have a very deep feeling of sincere solicitude or concern for the welfare of the group with whom he is immediately associated.

Motive to rise also seriously affects group solidarity and social cohesiveness. In educational organizations where the scalar-chain system of rank is overly emphasized, as is the case in most universities, prejudices often spring up to act as barriers between the various ranks. Some high school teachers may be prejudiced against elementary teachers. They may extend the attitude to elementary education in general. The reverse may also be true. It is not uncommon, in college circles, to discern prejudices, sometimes strong, against both elementary and secondary school teaching. The prejudices which are present in any system may be accentuated by differences in salary or in popular prestige. The administrator of a school, sometimes perhaps unconsciously, may develop a prejudice against an unusually competent teacher or eminent professor who has, because of outstanding service, gained such a measure of generalized prestige among his colleagues and among the citizens of the community that he has approached the degree of prestige

which the administrator believes belongs exclusively to one of his rank.

ADJUSTMENTS. Unfortunately, the desire to rise on a scale is a pattern of behavior so established in the educational profession that those who do not advance either because of a lack of ability or of desire or opportunity or for some other reason are frequently called upon to make unreasonable personal adjustments.

A university instructor, for example, must realize his ambition for advancement in a reasonable time or face a very real and difficult problem of personal adjustment. A primary teacher who is skilled in guiding young children and in advising and counseling with parents of young children must cultivate considerable tolerance if she is to be satisfied in an organization which perpetuates a hierarchical system which awards her less prestige and less salary than it gives the teacher of general science in the high school or the principal of the grade school. She knows that the so-called higher positions really are unlike hers only in that they require skills of a different kind and training different in content but not in quality. She knows that if she continues her primary teaching and strives to improve her competence she must do so with fewer rewards than are available to those in higher ranking positions. A large part of her satisfactions must come from her personal success. She will have to develop tolerance toward the general science teacher who also teaches children but who receives greater salary and community recognition. Unless such personal accommodations are made, differentiated ranks, salaries, and prestige which encourage competition and transcience inevitably contribute to disunity and lowered morale.

The problem of making an adjustment to a situation created by our emphasis upon mobility in the educational organization is not limited to those at the so-called lower end of the scale. The motive to rise on a scale and its effect on staff stability are directly related to problems which are peculiar, for example, to the superintendent who has moved into a new position. The new superintendent faces the problem of getting along with assistants and others among the

ersonnel inherited from a previous administration. While these
ssistants have not been demoted they have, nevertheless, failed of
romotion and they, too, must adjust to a new order of things.

To quote from a report on this problem made by the superin-
endents themselves:

These assistants, who represent the constellation of jobs that constitute
he superintendency, should be in harmony with the educational goals
of the board and of the superintendent or they should not remain in
heir positions. The job of the superintendent is such a big one that the
superintendent's effectiveness should be magnified through a sympathetic
staff. In fact only in this way can the job be done. . . . The board
should not think it has done the best it can for the schools in providing
a good superintendent when it fails to provide assistants who will work
harmoniously with him.[4]

Perhaps some of the feeling of insecurity of newly appointed
school superintendents and some of the adjustments they must
make stem from unfortunate features of the hierarchical form of
organization. For instance, the superintendent probably feels that
he must impose his own plans upon subordinates. He also knows
that those on the lower rungs of the hierarchical ladder are re-
signed to what he directs, or they accept it uncritically merely be-
cause they are part of an organizational arrangement. He assumes
that those who were assistant superintendents probably themselves
aspired to rise to the superintendency, and although unsuccessful,
may still have such aspirations. Every assistant superintendent,
unless he is too old, is, from hierarchical custom, a candidate for
the superintendency.

Perhaps in his attempt to make the best kind of accommodation
to a new situation a superintendent may add to his difficulties by
transporting assistants, secretaries, or other favored personnel from
the school system where he previously served. Such a procedure
may have adverse human relations effects. It may give rise to a feel-
ing of animosity toward the newly located personnel simply be-

[4] American Association of School Administrators, "The American School
Superintendency," *Thirtieth Yearbook,* Washington. D.C., 1952, p. 269.

cause they have been shown special favor by the superintendent over those who have already served in the system. It seems to indicate to the staff a lack of confidence on the part of the superintendent in the personnel which preceded him in the situation. They must accept him but he is not obligated to accept them. Ultimately, if the superintendent has serious difficulty, the interpretation of his troubles seldom includes any mention concerning the transfer of personnel. The explanation is always made in terms of vague, personal innuendo—lack of the right kind of leadership, and so on. The actual, major cause, the illogical way in which the organization through social custom operates, emphasis placed upon advancement and status within the profession in terms of a hierarchical scale is seldom, if ever, recognized or acknowledged.

UNDERLYING CAUSE. That excessive emphasis upon mobility is encouraged by the manner in which educational organization operates will perhaps be accepted without much question. As we have indicated, the exaggerated stress placed upon advancement construed to be rising on a hierarchical scale has influenced the motives of individuals and has also led to the making of certain adjustments by those who remain in educational positions at any level of the scalar chain. What is the underlying cause for the emphasis placed upon advancement in educational work, emphasis which is excessive when the profession of education is compared with the other learned professions such as law, medicine, and the ministry? Can the problem be solved by having the educational organization operate differently? Must excessive mobility continue uninterruptedly with its unfortunate complicating effects upon the personal relations in the educational organization?

Perhaps at least part of the explanation for the excessive mobility in the education profession lies in the fact that the profession is the largest of all professions in the number of its members, and hence the least selective. This means that, although the profession admits only those with above average ability and those with special training and does not admit those who have low talent, special disabilities, or emotional instability, it still can attract or enlist only a

small number, relatively, of members with exceedingly high ability or great talent.

Since in education no one is automatically assigned to a particular position, any status in educational organization is achieved, in most cases, by open competition. This leads to a belief which permeates educational personnel that most people, once they qualify, who fulfill the modest requirements as to minimum intelligence and to the absence of marked disabilities can, by training and experience, prepare to occupy practically any of the positions within the educational organization and to perform the duties associated with the role adequately and even brilliantly. This assumption on the part of educational personnel is favorable to a high degree of mobility and to the existence of all of the psychological and sociological problems associated with excessive mobility.

If we were to reason logically, it would seem that the better the individual staff member is adjusted to his status and his role in the organization, the more smoothly will the organization operate and the more wholesome will be the personnel relations. Conversely it seems equally obvious that any factor in the operation of educational organization which keeps the individual less well satisfied with his status, and which therefore encourages him to move to another status, will operate to limit the stability of organization. Should the actual mobility become marked the net result will be to lower the morale and *esprit de corps* among the personnel.

The conclusion from a study of excessive mobility seems inescapable. Either educational organization will continue to operate with a degree of unsatisfactory personal relations as one of its permanent characteristics or some effort must be made to change the manner of its operation so that many of the more serious adverse effects upon human relations will, if not obviated, at least be greatly minimized.

Disproportionate Emphasis

We have defined the organization in terms of a series of tacit agreements and mutual understandings with respect to the coördi-

nation of human effort. Sometimes the manner in which these agreements are made and the universality of their acceptance by the educational profession make of them a sort of organizational superstructure which serves as a legislative control over certain activities of the school. Long after the need for the agreement has passed away the organizational superstructure may still be performing its original function. The superstructure may define the relationships between various functionaries of the personnel, such as the relationship of teacher to supervisor, or of principal to superintendent. Long after its establishment, despite an obvious need for changes in the understandings and agreements, the superstructure originally set up may continue to legislate in the the same old way. A superstructure built for specified purposes and designed to meet well-defined needs may continue to function without change even though the purposes and needs have changed greatly. When the educational organization operates under an outmoded superstructure, disproportionate emphasis is likely to be given certain activities while others tend to be relatively neglected. This distortion of emphasis, in turn, usually causes certain acute problems in the realm of personal relations.

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the relation between the legislative superstructure and the disproportionate emphasis on organizational activities which it leads to and the effects of this distortion, four areas are specifically examined: the Carnegie unit in secondary and higher education; the fixed schedule; unscheduled activities; and the specialized functions of the school principal.

THE CARNEGIE UNIT OF ORGANIZATION. The Carnegie unit of organization founded on a statement made by a committee of the National Education Association in 1899 is an example of a kind of agreement and understanding which has had such lasting effect on educational organization that it has caused unsuitable emphasis on certain aspects of the curriculum and has resulted in individual personnel status entirely unjustifiable under present-day circumstances.

The Committee on College Entrance Requirements of the Na-

tional Education Association, when it was appointed in 1895, was to consider the problem of how the colleges should adjust their entrance requirements to the curriculum of the high school. What they actually did was to ask the high schools to build up their programs of studies out of units which covered the material which colleges told the committee comprised college entrance requirements. This meant that the high schools had to adjust their curricula in terms of college entrance requirements. Although this has, since that time, been somewhat changed, the high school still plans its work in terms of the "unit" [5]—a course of five periods a week throughout an academic year—which was defined by this committee and is still a basis of requirement for high school graduation and accreditation.

The influence of college entrance requirements and the definition of units in terms of college entrance requirements would have had little important effect upon personnel relations in the high school had it not been for the fact that the committee further refined its evaluation of high school work in terms of so-called "solid" subjects and those which were not "solid." The latter group were not important enough to be required of all pupils. It followed that the teachers of the so-called "solid" subjects were the teachers of the more important subjects and this meant that they were the more important teachers and therefore the ones who were to be accorded the higher social status. By teaching mathematics, science, and English, a teacher acquired status and prestige. Teachers who taught subjects like music, art, physical education, shop, and home economics were on a lower level of importance and had less status and prestige. That such an arrangement divided the personnel group, led to definite cleavages and unwholesome personnel relations is obvious. What is particularly regrettable is the fact that the effects of the Carnegie unit of organization are still more or less apparent in the status afforded faculty members responsible for certain subject matter fields in the high school.

[5] See Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Annual Report*, 1906, p. 38.

The Carnegie unit of organization also had and is still having undesirable effects on the relations of teachers and pupils in the high schools. Because the effort has been on fulfilling requirements for college entrance, pupils have often been forced to study in a given area regardless of interest or aptitude. The system has forced teachers, especially teachers of the social studies, to forego taking time for school elections, for study and practice in good school government, for seeing courts in action, or for engaging in other similar activities which might be expected to help pupils become better acquainted with problems of contemporary living because the material so covered is not encompassed in college entrance requirements and time so spent might well cause the teacher to lose status with his colleagues. From the standpoint of professional status a teacher has been wise to conclude that it is better to have pupils memorize parts of the Constitution than to engage in practices of good citizenship.

Because of the influence of the Carnegie unit of organization, emphasis in the school organization has tended to be not upon teaching and pupil experience in areas where it seems most needed as determined by those who are closest to and who are trained to determine such matters, but upon conformity to external standards. Unfortunately, it continues to have a definite regulatory effect on personnel relations within the school.

FIXED SCHEDULES. Disproportionate emphasis in the educational organization is also caused by fixed schedules. When this happens it too is an illustration of a superstructure continuing without adequate modification despite a change in needs and of a superstructure working to complicate the problem of improving human relations in the educational organization.

The fixed schedule often operates by program clocks with bells ringing at regular intervals, mechanically deciding any change of activity. What a teacher should be doing at any moment of time is decided by "the bell." So rigid are the fixed schedules in many schools that human relations too are subject to regulation, are developed in an unnatural, routinized environment in which teach-

ers cannot become well acquainted with their pupils, in which they have little time to talk to parents. In larger schools, fixed schedules often legislate that little time is available for teachers to associate with their fellows, let alone discuss mutual problems with them. A teacher seldom looks forward to the completion of a task, no matter how important, without several interruptions caused by the fixity of the schedule.

The fixed schedule operates as a regulator of human relationships in other ways. The shop teacher is expected to teach shop all day, a situation which greatly limits his contacts. An adjustment teacher will have a schedule which requires him to work all day with pupils who have special problems and perhaps legislates so that there will be little communication between him and any given pupil's teacher. A physical education teacher is not expected to be scheduled to teach an English class, even though because of his interest he might greatly desire to do so. Such a plan would confuse the schedule. A guidance teacher will do testing and counseling, not teaching. The fixed schedule regulates human relationships in many ways perhaps never intended.

The superstructure legislates that each personnel member's range of relationships conform in extent to what the fixed schedule permits. In time the personnel member will probably become resigned to the narrowing effect of the fixed schedule upon his interests and the breadth of his personal contacts.

The influence of the fixed schedule on the personnel relations of the group as a whole is unmistakable. In the interests of improving personnel relations we must be alert to the kind of effect a fixed schedule exerts, examine it critically, and evaluate it and modify it in terms always of its service to the contemporary needs and the potential contributions of each and of all members of the group.

UNSCHEDULED ACTIVITIES. In unscheduled activities we may find another illustration of emphasis in the school organization which is relatively out of proportion when judged in terms of personnel relations within the group. Unscheduled activities for teach-

ers include such activities as parent conferences, faculty teas, marking papers, preparing records.

If the unscheduled activities are too numerous or are unduly emphasized by the superstructure, teachers who would otherwise accept them tend to resent and to minimize them, personally, as much as possible. They skip the evening meeting of the P.T.A., or the school carnival, or the faculty tea, they limit the number of conferences with pupils, parents, and others, they approach the biweekly subject group meeting without enthusiasm, and they mildly resent the monthly faculty meeting. It is just as important from the standpoint of personnel relations that unscheduled activities be based on tacit agreements and mutual understandings which truly represent the needs, desires, and abilities of the group as it is that scheduled activities be based on the same organizational foundation.

SPECIALIZED DUTIES OF SCHOOL PRINCIPALS. School principals seemingly are affected by the traditional superstructure as much as are the teachers. There is a strong tendency among principals to give disproportionate emphasis to immediate, routine, managerial kinds of duties to the relative neglect of other activities which may be the more important and professional of their duties. Theorists in school administration frequently take school principals to task for this disproportionate emphasis on the so-called managerial to the neglect of the so-called professional. What is not usually commented on is the fact that the principal, too, is subject to the regulations of the superstructure just as are all others, and is therefore not always free to determine where he should place emphasis.

Usually the term managerial is applied to certain activities of the principal, more or less routine, which seem to contribute mainly to smoothness in the conduct of the work of the school. Certain other educational administrative functions, which are not so closely concerned with the mechanical aspects of achieving coördination, are usually termed professional.

A mother who was waiting for her six-year-old child to return from school said, "This is my fourth child to start school."

"If you were venturing some criticism of schools," she was asked, "what would they be?"

"They would all be little things," she said. "Why don't they show motion pictures during school rather than after? Why do the pictures start at 3:30 instead of 3 o'clock as the note to parents announced? Why are the guards who are assigned to the street corners often absent? Why are children who live in apartment districts asked to sell garden seeds to raise money for the school? Why do photographers take pictures of the children and then the teachers make it embarrassing for the child who doesn't bring money to school to buy the pictures? Why should they call a meeting for the P.T.A. at 7:30 and then begin at 8 o'clock? They are all little things," she said, "but they all add up."

This is an example of perhaps underemphasis on the so-called mechanical or managerial. It covers the type of thing which is likely to come to the attention of the principal and to receive his attention. Had the school taken care of what this mother called "the little things" it would have increased her support and perhaps improved its public relations generally.

As a rule, mechanical efficiency which is the result of giving careful attention to details adds to the enjoyment of managing a school and of teaching in a school. But it would be short-sightedness to seek mechanical efficiency directly just because it is more obvious and brings immediate public approval if, by so doing the more subtle, so-called professional activities are relatively neglected. If the principal is to be reproved at all he should be reproved not for meticulously caring for details but for neglecting something else. Why, then, do principals tend to give so much emphasis to the so-called managerial duties that they neglect their professional duties? The answer is found in the fact that as the superstructure is organized it operates to encourage the principal to care for managerial duties but discourages him from giving as strong an emphasis to his so-called professional duties.

In the educational organization, as it ordinarily operates, the principal feels completely responsible for discharging the managerial functions of his office. Since he must usually share his professional responsibilities with the regular or special teachers on one hand and with the superintendent or some of his assistants on the other hand, the professional functions of his office do not represent a clear-cut personal responsibility. They are rather the outcome of extensive interaction. The principal is guided, influenced, and perhaps restricted by those who in rank and authority are above him. He is also guided, influenced, and perhaps restricted by those who are below him in rank and authority. In other words, the school principal must work in a situation which, by and large, is of someone else's making. If he follows the line of least resistance he will devote more of his energies and give greater emphasis to the functions of his office which are outside this realm—the so-called managerial functions. Those activities for which he has direct personal responsibility and control, in terms of which he will be appraised, are the managerial functions. It is therefore the managerial functions which tend to absorb a relatively disproportionate portion of the principal's time and energy. It is the so-called professional functions which tend to be underemphasized.

To take a specific example, suppose a school principal decides to work with a special group within the personnel in seeking to improve some aspect of the curriculum. The group discovers it has to conform to certain specifications set up by an outside authority which is superior to them by virtue of position on a scale. The principal and the group proceed as best they can but discover that in order to comply with the procedures laid down for them they cannot achieve any real modification in the curriculum. After such an experience will not the principal tend to feel that effort expended on such so-called professional activities is more or less wasted and that that time and energy might be more profitably invested in the so-called managerial duties of his office? His relative emphasis on the two phases of his work has been determined pretty much by a

superstructure in the organization which is not flexible in terms of specific, immediate group needs, desires, and abilities.[6]

Of course, if a hierarchical-functional plan of coördination like the one described in the previous chapter operated, the responsibility for modifying the curriculum would be the responsibility of the individual or group with superior understanding and knowledge in terms of the immediate situation and the specific problem at hand and that individual or group would have the freedom to make indicated modifications. If collaboration were not obstructed by a pattern of hierarchy an outside expert could be identified with the immediate school group and could participate as a member of the group in its attack on the curriculum problem.

Another example of disproportionate emphasis on the managerial aspects of the administrator's special functions is found in situations where the principal and the staff aspire to mechanical efficiency in such matters as office practice and library service and in so doing lose sight of the fact that all these services are important only in terms of their educational benefits to the staff and to the children. In large school systems this may apply to the business manager or office manager as well as to the principal. Whoever the administrator is, he is giving disproportionate emphasis to details of mechanical efficiency if he, for instance, collects information and enters it on records but never converts the data into any form which will facilitate the work of the personnel.

As we have indicated previously, mechanical efficiency is not undesirable. The trouble comes when emphasis is given to that kind of mechanical efficiency which is not going to facilitate the achievement of some purpose generally recognized as worthy. Through efficiency we accomplish results with a minimum expenditure of time and energy. Those methods of administration which effectively coördinate and direct the energies of the group toward worthy achievement are efficient regardless of whether traditionally

[6] For a more detailed discussion of the effects of this factor upon principals see Will French, J. Dan Hull, B. L. Dodds, *American High School Administration*, New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1951, pp. 135–136.

classified as mechanical or professional. In the best sense of the word efficiency cannot be related to random and ill-conceived action. True efficiency always will encourage the improvement of staff relations.

Consider a school library which is responsible for providing, at the appropriate time and place, materials suited to a well-balanced pupil reading program. The library is not efficient, in an educational sense, if its direct management is relatively too much concerned with technical externals like collecting, cataloguing, and classifying. The library is efficient when library activities are geared in terms of the interrelationship between the technical details of library services and actual direct service to teachers and to the education of children. This means that the library will provide materials suitable to a sound reading program at the appropriate time and place. Unfortunately, frequently the organizational plan of the school is such as to separate the functions of the classroom and the functions of the library. This kind of separation is sometimes responsible for the principal's disproportionate emphasis on the mechanical or managerial to the detriment of the professional.

Disproportionate emphasis on certain functions and responsibilities in the school organization is more or less evident. What we are likely to overlook is that certain patterns of behavior established in our adherence to a fixed schedule, to the Carnegie unit plan or to stress on unscheduled activities tend, in part, to determine relative emphasis in the school organization. In the case of the principal's emphasis upon those activities of his office which are more mechanical and his relative lack of emphasis upon those activities which are more so-called professional, often some preëxisting organizational superstructure or some established acceptance of efficiency in the mechanics of such services as those performed by the office or the library tend actually to determine the principal's "disproportionate" emphasis. He himself is caught in the web of a superstructure which, once established, may be exceedingly difficult to change.

AS RELATED TO CHANGE

We have observed the organization in operation as it affects some personnel relations problems associated with certain undesirable attitudes toward the organization on the part of the personnel, we have examined some ramifications of the problem of excessive mobility in education, and we have turned our attention to problems involving disproportionate emphasis in some aspects of organizational action. Another group of problems growing out of the effects of the organization in operation is related to change—to the need for change, to the manner of effecting change, and to adjustments to change.

Inasmuch as organization is a dynamic feature of group living, change is an inherent ingredient of organization. That human organization can be changed in ways which improve relationships among men is the hope of the world. What rate of change can we hope for, what kind of change can we expect, and how can change be directed? Perhaps no one questions that the kind of societal organization in which we work significantly shapes the character of our personalities, determines many of our opportunities and responsibilities in relation to our fellow men, and therefore influences to a degree our ability to associate with others on a desirable social level. These problems are general with society and with all organization. How, specifically, in the educational organization are change and our efforts toward change, our adjustment to change, related to personnel relations problems?

Since, as we have seen, organization strongly affects the kind and quality of activities and the nature of relations within an educational group, perhaps the most significant questions one can ask are: What direction should organizational change be encouraged to take? What are the best methods to use in bringing about indicated change? What are some of the obstructions or impediments to change in the educational organization? What are some of the factors which encourage change in the educational organization?

Staff Tension

One of the main factors which encourage and accelerate change in the educational organization is staff tension. Since change is normal, a certain amount of tension is desirable. Potentially tension produces healthful cooperation in achieving change. When staff tensions mount in intensity, however, and when they remain unresolved over a long period of time, they invariably have a negative effect on human relations within the group, serve to distort the proportionate need for change and to magnify the problem of achieving needed change. It is not easy, in any organization, to determine the point at which staff tension reaches its maximum desirable intensity, the point beyond which the lack of feeling of well-being is damaging to personnel relations. When staff tensions are heightened to a degree which approaches the pathological, change is imminent but hazardous.

A well-known large city school system has, over a period of thirty years, been in what the social psychologists call a continuing state of disequilibrium. In the system have been all kinds of group organizations, each with its peculiar purpose but with little agreement among them and with no unanimous support by the teachers for any one group. Many teachers have joined a teachers' union, others have disapproved and refused to join. During the thirty years there has been a continuing parade of changing superintendents and assistant superintendents. The school board has been divided three to four on votes on most issues. Powerfully organized groups within the community have taken sides on controversial issues, often veiling their selfish motives behind carefully prepared fact-finding reports. The educational organization has been subject to so many intensive, external pressures that staff tensions, and community tensions too, have mounted to a level organizationally demoralizing. There have been plenty of changes during the thirty years but there has been little progress.

It is erroneous to assume, even though change is instigated by staff tension and inaugurated to relieve staff tension that such change is always in the interest of good human relations. Many changes have been made in this city school system over the years

and certainly staff tensions have been involved. The changes, however, have usually been expedient changes rather than changes to conform with what is known to be best for maximum educational achievement and wholesome personnel relations.

Although tensions which are extreme sometimes lead to changes which may or may not be educationally sound, they can and frequently do impede desirable change. When tensions obstruct desirable change, and cause postponement rather than solution of a problem, they result in increased tension rather than resolution. Increasing already heightened tensions obviously is detrimental to group unity and group achievement.

This is illustrated in the matter of a change in teachers' salaries which came up recently in a school community. As the staff approached work on the problem, acute tensions were disclosed in strong emotional overtones. Controversy soon became community wide. Representatives of the teachers' union and representatives from each of forty-seven civic bodies petitioned for a hearing before the board of education on the salary program. As the arguments became more heated, groups in the community were driven farther and farther apart. The school personnel was hopelessly divided on the issue. Tensions became so acute that personal relations disintegrated. The board of education announced a decision which settled the matter temporarily but the problem remained unsolved and the tensions among the personnel persisted.

Among the problems which are associated with the organization in operation and related to personnel relations, then, the problem of staff tension is of great importance. We want to have enough wholesome staff tension to generate change in the line of progress but we want to avoid the kind of unwholesome staff tension which leads to disintegrating emotion, disrupting procedures, and unsatisfactory changes.

Community Participation

When we consider the problem of change in connection with educational organizational problems, and especially when we study

some of its effects on human relations, we recognize that the possibility and desirability of community participation in effecting change is of considerable importance. If we assume that it is desirable, in the main, to involve the school public in many educational organization changes, how do we accomplish this? How much should the school public be involved? What are some of the beneficial effects of involving the school public?

Perhaps it is a truism to state that those in the community who oppose what appear to be educationally sound changes in the school organization are usually those who have not participated sufficiently in the affairs of the school to gain an understanding of the problems and to develop a desire to share in achieving desirable change.

School personnel many times err in that they operate in a way which makes it appear that they are unaware that often even the simplest and most obviously desirable change in the school is of community concern. For example, the board of education for a school system which had operated for fifty years by beginning the school day at eight thirty announced that, beginning with the new school year, school would open at nine o'clock. When the announcement aroused considerable resentment throughout the community the board was surprised. They seemed to be unaware that ringing a school bell could have anything to do with human relations throughout the community.

Most children in a certain community school traveled to school by bus. The school regulation said that all children should enter the building not more than ten minutes before classes began, yet when all the buses arrived at the same time there was confusion at school. The school staff and parents discussed the problem together, explored all the difficulties encountered by having all the buses arrive at the same time and, as a group, developed a new plan. Under the new plan the buses were scheduled to arrive at convenient intervals and school began when the children got there. There was no such thing as tardiness. The very fact that the parents were allowed and encouraged to participate in analyzing the difficulties and in deter-

mining the solution meant that the rather drastic change was accepted in the community without opposition.

An elementary school discontinued the use of the traditional report card. Now, when needed, the teachers hold interviews with the parents or communicate with them by mail. A parent who wishes to consult with the teacher may do so at any time. All who have children attending that particular school are not only enthusiastic about the new plan of reporting to parents, but they are staunch, all-round supporters of the school. In fact, people often buy homes in that community especially because they wish to send their children to that school. It was not without careful group work, shared study, and a trial period, however, that the new report card system was adopted. It was only after the trial period that everyone was enthusiastic about the new system. An unexpected result of replacing the written report card with visits and conferences has been that parents have had more first-hand association with the school, know more about what is going on, and how the school group is trying to solve problems. On many occasions the better-informed school public has volunteered most acceptable help and worth-while suggestions.

Whether the change in the educational organization involves the time of ringing the school bell, the kind of report card used, or something else, as far as human relations is concerned it is wise to be alert to the importance of adequate community participation. It is especially important to remember that the community is part of the school group, and in the interest of successful change and good public relations, it is important to recognize that in many situations the community should have an opportunity to participate in school affairs.[7]

Personal Philosophical Differences

Change in the educational organization is also influenced, sometimes accelerated, sometimes obstructed, by differences in the per-

[7] See Chapter 9, pp. 371–373.

sonal philosophies of various members of the staff. This is, in a sense, related to the existence of staff tensions which we have already somewhat explored in its relation to change.

Those who work in different parts of an educational organization may develop different viewpoints about what is good education. These differences probably result partly from the manner in which the organization operates and partly from the training, experiences, and personalities of the individuals involved. Sometimes these philosophical differences are fairly fundamental and in that case the individuals who have the differences tend to be at variance in their support of and resistance to change.

In some cases a convincing majority of the group may deem it wise that changes be made despite the fact that these personal philosophical differences among members of the staff make unanimous agreement impossible. When such a decision is made, in order to avoid an adverse effect on personal relations, earnest effort should be expended toward broadening understandings and reconciling the basic philosophical conflict. In these cases, also, consideration must be given to the ego involvement of those in conflict with the change, even though they may be only a small minority. The most appropriate adjustment possible to their welfare should be included in any new arrangement. It is a mistake to believe that organizational changes in themselves, perhaps inaugurated despite minority opposition, will cause change in the fundamental point of view which is basic to the opposition. If possible, discussion and study of proposed changes should continue far enough to guarantee that the projected changes are understood and concurred in by most members of the group. In no case where personnel relations are likely to be affected adversely should a major change be made if an administrator alone, or he with only a few others desire it. The administrator should consider it his function to lead the group not only by presenting problems, helping to analyze and study and guide in developing and applying solutions, but also in using methods which lead to conciliation in different and diverging points of view, realizing full well that wide differences in basic under-

standings will constitute a barrier both to desirable change and to wholesome personal relations.

Compartmentalization

As we have seen, compartmentalization in educational organization sometimes leads members of the personnel to develop an attitude of partial identification with the organization and an attitude of partial identification is not desirable in terms of the best personal relations. Compartmentalization is also of further interest in connection with the problem of desirable change in educational organizations because it is another example of how the superstructure in the organization by shaping the activities, attitudes, and relationships directly affects organizational change.

Compartmentalization as seen in subject matter departments, special service departments, special institutes, divisions of athletics, and so forth, is common in educational organization. Often such compartments foster good relations within their boundaries but tend to hinder good organization-wide relations partly because they more or less consistently obstruct any change which promises to affect what is felt to be a vested compartmental interest. Perhaps basic to the obstruction to change is the fact that adequate communication and interaction are made difficult because of a compartmental boundary. Where members of a personnel, in compartmental groups, become highly competitive for budgetary support the result is usually an obstruction to the kind of change which, from a broad organization-wide viewpoint might be highly desirable. Experience and observation seem to indicate that, in general, changes in an educational organization tend to be made consistently in favor of further growth of the stronger compartments and at the expense of the weaker ones.

Structural Reorganization

Sometimes structural reorganizations are made in school organizations in an effort to promote change in part to improve human

relations in some particular area. Usually the procedure is a temporizing one which does not achieve the desired results. For instance, new compartmental, isolated units such as "division of remedial reading" or, in the grades, "opportunity rooms" sometimes are established by the staff to serve as a solution to a curriculum or a teaching problem which has caused personnel dissatisfaction. New "institutes" are set up in universities to cure some organizational difficulty. Such structural reorganization seldom is effective either in improving the organization or in leading to better personnel relations. The structural reorganization may cause a shift in authority but the difficulties in personal relations which it was to alleviate are usually just as acute as they were before the change or may even be accentuated by it. The problem is, in a sense, merely deserted by the staff. Structural reorganization made in answer to a human relations problem is particularly undesirable in those instances where it detracts attention from the real problem and thereby becomes a serious obstacle to future change. It may offer little relief to an educational situation calling for basic and fundamental action by the group.

When the junior high school movement, for example, was in its infancy, many people believed that the structural reorganization it involved would bring great educational changes to the work of grades seven, eight, and nine. Particularly would it usher in a new era of personnel relations among those teaching at that level. The traditional obstacles to change in the curriculum for grades seven, eight, and nine were to be surmounted by a new organizational unit. The history of the movement reveals that those who were confident that structural reorganization itself would bring marked all-round educational improvement have been disappointed because the central problems of organizing the curriculum and procedures of grades seven, eight, and nine remain the same despite the fact that the three grades have been regrouped. The staff problem of teacher coördination and of working more closely to provide suitable instruction and curriculum in grades seven, eight, and nine remained unsolved. The structural reorganization, *per se*, did not

change the fundamental viewpoints of the personnel toward education.

It is well to remember also that, even after restructurization is achieved, the intellectual norms, and modes of thinking which were characteristic of the parents, pupils, and teachers within the older structures of organization are the intellectual norms and modes of thinking which will continue to be characteristic of the parents, pupils, and teachers. Unless it is indicated when the central, basic problem is analyzed and tackled by the group involved, that structural change is needed, structural reorganization achieves little.

Institutions of higher learning more than high schools and elementary schools have placed much confidence in structural reorganization to improve both personnel and personal relations. Structural reorganization has been employed as a solution to perplexing personnel problems or to meet some new need because it is easier to establish a new unit to solve an old conflict among the personnel or to meet a new need than it is to get well-established units modified. Because early American state universities, for instance, did not accept the education of teachers as a responsibility, the various states, at great expense, established normal schools. Today many states are confronted with intricate problems of organizing higher education because of the earlier evasion of the problem by the university administrators who, being content with an easy, temporary solution, resorted to structural reorganization and established new units of higher education instead of modifying existing units to meet growing needs.

To use another example, some universities have set up departments of recreation ostensibly to train leaders to teach children, youth, and adults worthy uses of leisure time. Actually this restructurization could have been avoided had the athletic department been appropriately modified to care for expanded functions.

Reorganizing structurally to avoid confronting a personnel relations problem may not only impede desirable changes which are more difficult to achieve but it may actually debase education and increase expenses. In some instances it has resulted in a flagrant

waste of time and money. The establishment of new units as a method of adjusting personnel relations often indicates that the educational organization in question is being changed along lines of least resistance.

Inappropriate Standards

The establishment and continuance of school activities without due regard for appropriate educational standards introduces another feature which frequently obstructs organizational change. Unless an activity, before it is established, has been carefully planned to meet a well-defined need in the educational organization and unless it is fairly clear that the activity will continue to contribute to worth-while educational outcomes, it may well acquire an unjustified importance, lead to an organizational imbalance, and in time give definite resistance to any change which might eliminate or reduce its importance.

Take, for instance, the activities involved in college athletics. Recently college athletics have been involved in greatly publicized scandals and their rightful place in the educational organization has been questioned in some quarters. School athletics have been built up through an emphasis on play activities which proved to be popular and financially profitable, but they have been allowed and encouraged in some institutions to go well beyond their originally conceived functions. Not only are educators dismayed at the athletic scandals, but the educationally unwarranted emphasis has caused some professors to resent the whole athletic program. Unfortunately when a school program of athletics or of any other school activity is not compelled consistently by members of the personnel to conform to educational standards, it will develop to a point where it is on the defensive, where it is definitely and automatically resistant to organizational changes which are proposed for its improvement. Once this stage is reached, personnel relations are likely to become "edgy" to a point where any attempt to reëstablish standards is viewed with suspicion.

From the high school we may take another example of the fact

that not applying appropriate standards in initiating and continuing school activities is one way of obstructing desirable change. Twenty-five high school annuals were arranged on a table in order of aesthetic appearance—binding, printing, photography, and the like. The annual at the lower end of the scale was different from the others in that it had been altogether planned, written, printed, and bound by the pupils themselves in classes in the high school in journalism, printing, photography, art, and bookbinding. The book was in reality the school's annual. As would be expected, by commercial standards, it compared unfavorably with the others which had been published by printing firms. It contained some obvious mistakes and possessed some crudities. An advertisement, for example, which had been inadvertently omitted was represented by a yellow pennant pasted in each of the volumes as it came from the press. The printing and illustrating were inexpert and there were other obvious imperfections.

A number of educators were, without instructions, asked to express judgments upon the relative merits of the annuals. Almost without exception they expressed surprise that a large high school would produce an annual so inferior to the others. When the manner of production of the annuals was explained, and when it was proposed that the educational value to the pupils be substituted for the commercial standard which they had used, the inferior annual was viewed as one of the better annuals in the group. The application of an inappropriate standard can sometimes lead to a wholly erroneous opinion about the product of any group endeavor.

The custom of judging the products of school staffs in terms of the perfection of the tangible results instead of in terms of the contribution made to children's educational advancement is another example of the tendency to confuse standards. One also sees it reflected when groups are evaluating such activities as the music of the school band, the school newspaper, and athletic contests. Officials in some states plan state high school athletic exhibitions in a way which indicates that they consider the income from these exhibitions and the publicity they afford more important than the health

waste of time and money. The establishment of new units as a method of adjusting personnel relations often indicates that the educational organization in question is being changed along lines of least resistance.

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standards—all tend to have an adverse effect on desirable organizational changes.

Change is inherent in organization. We have called attention to certain parts of the organization which seem to have varying effects on change. In the light of illustrative organizational problems reviewed, what are some organizational changes which seem to be indicated?

Simplify the Organization

From our study of the educational organization, its provisions for a structure of authority and for the coördinating function, and in the light of current organizational problems as seen in excessive mobility among school personnel, disproportionate emphasis on certain school activities, and undesirable attitudes among the personnel, it seems indicated that the first change needed is to simplify the organization, to eliminate or minimize some of the features which make desirable change difficult.

Simplifying the organization, minimizing the hierarchical ranks, were discussed, to some extent, when we analyzed the hierarchical-functional type of coördination. It will come up again as we turn our attention to matters of personal attitudes and adjustments and when we study the administrative techniques of observation, evaluation, and achieving participation. As directly related to the problems of organization, perhaps it is sufficient to point out now that simplifying the organization is, in a sense, a return to the organization of the earlier American public schools. At that time the teacher in the classroom was the focus of the organization. He was responsible for coördinating the activities of all the work related to his particular room. Such a simplified organization follows a principle advocated generally by school administration theorists: "Broad authority for adapting the content, the methodology, and the organization of learning experiences to the needs of a particular group of pupils should repose in the individual teacher." [8]

[8] "Staff Relations in School Administration," *Thirty-third Yearbook*, American Association of School Administrators, February, 1955, p. 24.

of the adolescent children involved. State band contests and school newspaper contests promote the same emphasis on perfection in terms of adult commercial standards and the same depreciation of the kind of standards of attainment which would prevail if the band concert or the newspaper were judged in terms of how much or how well it had contributed to desirable educational experiences for the children who produced it.

The unjustified importance acquired by the kind of school activities which do not conform to sound educational standards becomes increasingly difficult to counteract. The arrangement itself in time becomes an obstacle to future change.

An educational organization will inevitably change. A number of features of educational organization, such as some we have mentioned by way of illustration, operate to obstruct change or force change in undesirable directions. Change in educational organization can foster good personnel relations or it can cause a deterioration in human relations. The personnel of any educational organization in effecting change should be conscious of the importance of giving full consideration to the cause of good human relations.

INDICATED CHANGES

Certain aspects of the organization, then, are particularly related to the problems of achieving change. We have noted that staff tensions may accelerate change and may also obstruct change. Changes tend to be more successful, especially in terms of personal relations, when the group which participates in deciding on the changes and planning the changes is as broadly representative as is practical. Often in the case of educational organization changes, this means that the community will participate as a part of the school group. Compartmentalization and stop-gap changes made by modifying the pattern of compartmentalization, the practice of including activities which do not conform to sound educational

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School administrators advocate further simplification of the organization when they recommend: "Wide authority and responsibility should be entrusted to each school for the development and effectuation of policies governing relationships to the community served and procedures for expediting and evaluating learning."[9] In other words they recommend what our analysis also indicates is desirable—"enlarged autonomy for the school and increased responsibility for the teachers" and a "flattening of the hierarchical lines of vertical communication (to) make it possible for those at the operating level to influence general policy decisions."

In simplifying the organization, the importance of focusing coördination of school functions around the teacher in the classroom seems to be generally accepted. Why not also focus coördination of the facilities of the community around the teacher in the classroom? This would involve many changes in traditional procedures: contacting the home through periodic report cards would be completely abandoned; marks, at least at lower elementary levels, would be discontinued; honest-to-goodness meetings and discussions with children's parents would become a natural procedure; the teacher would know and utilize in teaching many persons in the community—florists, newspaper reporters, travelers, fishermen, or anyone else with a special interest and knowledge which will enrich the curriculum. The teacher would be the coördinator. He would bring the community people into his classroom, or if he wishes, would take the pupils into the community to the place of interest.

Good community attitudes toward the school are essential to good school achievement. By simplifying the school organization so that the teacher is the coördinator of the community relationships with his pupils and can follow simple and direct procedures, we can make one important step toward achieving wholesome community participation and lay the foundation for good community attitudes.

Change which allows the classroom teacher to have the coördi-

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

nating power and responsibility might be extended, as described in the previous chapter, to include coördination of those special services which are usually made available to a teacher. Superintendents have long been aware that the traditional coördination of these services has been inefficient and educationally unsound and they have hoped to find some way to improve the situation.

At the operating level the specialized services converge on the classroom teacher; they are meant to be helpful to him. But in many school systems these services have been so poorly coordinated into the needs of the classroom that teachers, rightly or wrongly, regard them simply as additions to their already heavy loads. At each addition or extension of such a service, teachers expect their own burdens to be increased further. When low morale such as this exists among classroom teachers the efforts of all the rest of the school staff are reduced in effectiveness. If such feelings are found to exist among teachers, it should be a matter of concern and soul-searching by the heads of every service in the school system.[10]

Establish a Uniform Policy with Regard to Salary

Most of the previous discussion has directed attention to the need in educational organizations for a greater freedom on the part of the individual to realize his own personal and individual goals. The danger was pointed out that institutional goals, while important and significant, should not be so strongly stressed as to crowd out a proper and necessary emphasis by the individual on those goals which he conceives to be of paramount personal importance. We have attempted to indicate the effects upon human relations of organizational procedures which neglect a reasonable realization of individual goals. This has led to frequent suggestions that educational personnel reappraise regulations, personnel policy, and structural arrangements which markedly affect the quality of human relations in the organization. To say this in another way, we have advocated at several points that where there is a kind of uniformity in educational organization which, in the interest of improving

[10] American Association of School Administrators, "The American School Superintendency," *Thirtieth Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1952, p. 99.

personnel relations, seems to need modification, the personnel of the organization devote itself to a study of the problem. Where uniformity is discovered to be unfavorable to the promotion of good personnel relations, then that uniformity should receive the focal attention of administrative officers. Perhaps, when viewed from the standpoint of personnel relations, the only place where constant uniformity should prevail is in the realm of employee salary. At least, salary policy must be crystal clear.

One of the questions that has perplexed superintendents of schools and presidents of colleges has been the issue of whether to take into account relative merit of members of the personnel when determining annual salary increments for those who have achieved permanent status.

A great deal has been written and said on both sides of this issue but the logic of assigning increments only when merited becomes extremely dubious when the issue is decided mainly in terms of possible effects upon human relationships in the organization. Only a few of the considerations will be touched upon here.[11] Others are implied in some of the later discussions.

Establishing a social gradient of relative merit, as pointed out by Allee[12] is a far cry from establishing a true gradient of merit. Attempting to establish a true gradient of merit requires the rated individual to make many personal accommodations. Since someone must establish the gradient, it will take only a moment's thought to visualize the effects upon human relationships of such an assignment to anyone, especially inasmuch as the most careful educational research reveals that none of the methods used to date can claim any validity. To quote the conclusion from a dependable and comprehensive research: ". . . this research failed to find any system of measuring teacher merit which the writer is willing to recommend be adopted as a basis for paying the salaries of all

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[11] For a more extended analysis of merit and salaries by a highly successful superintendent of a large city school system see Harold Spears, *The High School for Today*, New York: American Book Company, 1950, pp. 248–251.

[12] See Chapter II, p. 41, quotation from W. C. Allee.

teachers. This study did establish that the existing system is of little value if salaries should be paid on merit, and the system of merit rating by official superiors which the State was considering for adoption is of no value." [13]

As the school superintendents themselves express it: "It is much less damaging to withhold increments from a few outstandingly weak teachers whose performance can be assessed without using any formal rating plan than to subject all teachers, the successful as well as the unsuccessful, to an appraisal scheme that is lacking in validity and reliability. Because of the subjective nature of current evaluation schemes the use of merit rating in administering salary scales is almost certain to depress morale." [14]

Provide Sound Programs for Professional Advancement

Simplification of the organization and elimination of merit rating for salary purposes are changes in the educational organization which seem indicated by a study of human relations problems which emerge from the manner in which organization operates. There is one other outstanding change which can do much to help the cause of good personnel relations. That is a change which will result in a provision of programs for the personnel which are definite and clear-cut and directly connected with professional advancement.

Such a change would place upon the personnel a responsibility for utilizing in-service training and specialized services of fellow teachers, for participating in professional activities in the immediate group and also with the profession-wide group. By marking the path of professional progress with definite salary increments, progress is clearly charted.

Following a sound program for professional advancement of teachers and professors further obviates basing salary increases on

[13] William A. McCall, *Measurement of Teacher Merit*, Raleigh, North Carolina: The State Department of Public Instruction, 1951, p. 37.
[14] American Association of School Administrators, "Staff Relations in School Administration," *Thirty-third Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1955, p. 58.

merit rating. Salary increases will depend partly upon length of service but also upon progress as shown in the pursuit of advanced study and professionally fruitful experiences. In other words, what lies ahead should always be clear to every accepted member of the personnel of every educational organization and the pathway to advancement should be as clearly charted as is humanly possible.

GOALS OF OPERATION

What, then, should be the conscious goals of the educational organization in operation? We discuss at this point three closely related goals the realization of which would contribute much to the improvement of human relations.

Why are the changes toward simplified organization desirable? As pointed out in our analysis of some principles of organization we expect an educational organization to be efficient in securing coördination of group efforts. How do we judge its efficiency? Does a simplified organization achieve coördination more efficiently? There seems to be reasonable justification for the belief that a simplified organization can be more efficient than an exceedingly complex one. In addition to general efficiency, however, we also want the educational organization to achieve the kind of specialization and coördination which are conducive to good personal relations. This implies first of all that the organization will operate so that group-wide participation is a reality. This is true because it is only when each member of the group actually participates that each member has a feeling of responsibility to the group and for the group, has a complete understanding of the group; and understanding and responsibility are necessary for the best personnel relations. Specific administrative techniques for achieving group participation are discussed in Chapter 9. At this point, in the light of some of the problems of organization in operation which have been discussed, what can we expect from group participation?

Participation

First of all, a feeling of responsibility and complete understanding of the organization can be built only through the processes of participation. Hence participation should be a conscious goal of every educational organization in operation. The negative attitudes of the personnel toward the organization which we have described cannot and will not persist if the personnel is whole-hearted in its participation in group projects.

Achieving participation is in part an organizational problem because the greatest barrier to group participation in school activities is a structure of authority which is not the product of group action and which is antagonistic to a participatory type of group action. Organization in terms of the hierarchical principle has seemed inevitable in school situations. If, however, the hierarchy is as simple as possible it will not be an insurmountable obstacle to group-wide participation. A simplified hierarchy would, in fact, encourage it. Partial identification or an attitude of detachment toward the organization is less likely in that organization where each member of the personnel participates because it is participation which makes it possible for the personnel to be completely identified with functions and activities beyond a department or other boundary line. If the teacher or professor in the university finds it organizationally possible, and is encouraged, to contribute to the total school activities from the vantage point of his own area, he will interact and coöperate and tend to be identified with all other parts of the organization and with the organization as a whole.

In large school systems and in large universities in addition to the handicap imposed by an extended chain of authority, participation is also handicapped by physical factors of size and distance. Here it is even more important that the local school organization be a dynamic product of the local school group.

In order to compensate for some of the handicaps to participation which result from departmentalization in large high schools

and colleges and division in large school districts, it is important to make organizational adjustments which will keep the lines of communication open in all directions. For instance, the chief administrator in any unit of organization should be available to individuals or groups for conferences or interviews. He should keep the entire faculty informed, not only about the plans and activities of the various departments, but also about the thinking and understandings which preceded the plans and activities. Oral reports and discussions are desirable where they are practical. Mimeographed reports are a good second best. In some situations the chief administrator should appoint, or arrange for, groups of individuals representing various areas, or a cross section, to study, plan, and follow through with procedures designed to solve problems of interdepartment concern. But above all, techniques in participation must be developed. We defer discussion of these to the last chapter.

Frequently superintendents of schools, working in systems organized in terms of the hierarchical principle, reveal an awareness of their deficiency in sharing directly with teachers and other members of the personnel. As they see it, the main cause of the difficulty usually stems from the fact that the hierarchical nature of the organization makes direct sharing with the teachers very difficult if not impossible.

The social theorists explain the problem in a little different way.

The existence of a hierarchy within an organization implies that those with lower status in the organization will not completely share the values of those with higher status. Hence lower-status individuals and groups are "underprivileged" in terms of the values of those with higher status, since these latter values are most closely related to the over-all purpose of the organization. If it is true that individuals continue their association with a group only in so far as they obtain some kind of satisfactions from this association, then it seems equally true that these "underprivileged" workers must have learned to obtain satisfactions very different from those obtained by the most privileged members.[13]

Naturally no administrator wishes to control what the teacher

[13] Hugh Cabot and Joseph A. Kahl, *Human Relations*, Vol. I, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 232.

does in the classroom. To do so would cause a teacher to feel limited responsibility for the educational outcomes of the classroom and to have an attitude of incomplete identification with the school. Participation is not easy to attain but it can be made a goal. Where participation is not an organizational goal the limitations on group-wide participation are reflected in the limitation on the feeling of responsibility which in turn lowers the satisfactions of association such as Cabot and Kahl describe.

Personal Responsibility

Through participation, then, we expect to achieve group-wide, complete identification with the school as an organization and a clear understanding of the respective functions of each individual in relation to the whole. *Involved in the acceptance and understanding of function is the feeling of personal responsibility.*

Confusion over the relation of function and responsibility is more or less common. It may be partly because the term "responsibility" is used with varying meanings—as a synonym for duties, sometimes to denote some task that is assigned, and sometimes interchangeably with "authority." All these meanings—duties, assignments, authority—are, of course, closely related to division of work in a social organization. Duties can be delegated. Authority can be vested in some official body or person. Responsibility, however, has a significance beyond these terms. Responsibility has a personal connotation. It is affective. It involves one's feelings toward his obligations and especially toward the consequences of that which one does or is expected to do. *One speaks of his feeling of responsibility. It is an intellectual attitude toward that which he is supposed to do.* Dewey stated that by responsibility "is meant the disposition to consider in advance the probable consequences of any projected step and deliberately to accept them; to accept them in the sense of taking them into account, acknowledging them in action, not yielding a mere verbal assent." [16]

[16] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916, p. 209.

In an effective educational organization each member has duties for which he is expected to be responsible and toward the performance of which he feels a deep responsibility. It should be the conscious goal of operation that this feeling of responsibility be realized in every member of the educational personnel.

How can we get each member to have an attitude of identification with the group and to have a strong feeling of responsibility for his share in the work of the school? First, we must realize that it is a mistake to suppose that responsibility and duty are inseparably bound. The delegation of duties does not mean that responsibility also is conjointly delegated—although the type or kind of duties delegated does have some relation to responsibility or lack of responsibility. Second, it is well to remember that the administrator's concept of the true function of the teacher or instructor which, in turn, is related to the administrator's understanding of his own functions in relation to those of the entire group including the classroom teacher, will largely determine what functions the administrator delegates and how they are delegated. If the administrator provides for maximum group participation in the distribution and assumption of organizational duties, there will probably be little necessity for delegation of duties on the basis of administrative authority. If the duty or responsibility grows out of a group situation probably there will be no problem with an inadequate feeling of personal responsibility on the part of the teachers. On the other hand, even when the allocation of duties *is* made on the basis of administrative prerogative, if the administrator making the allocation conceives his own functions as service to the personnel, and if the duties delegated are accompanied with the delegation of adequate authority and power, the fact that they are allocated duties will not necessarily mean that they are duties which are inimical to a feeling of responsibility.

If the principal of a high school delegates to a teacher the duties associated with directing pupils in presenting an assembly program and allows the teacher full freedom in making all the pertinent decisions, and if he makes it clear that he is willing to share

by giving help and advice only as requested, then the teacher will probably feel a responsibility in connection with the delegated duty. If, however, the principal who delegates responsibility for the assembly program does not think in terms of the achievements of the parts of the school in relation to the school as a whole, does not see the teacher and all others as joint contributors, does not see himself as a sharer, an adviser and a coöperator, he himself may decide, for instance, that the assembly program should be professionally perfect and may proceed to make many other major decisions relative to the program. Under such circumstances the teacher will have the delegated duty of presenting the program but it will be a delegated duty only. He will have little personal identification with the assembly program. He will experience little feeling of responsibility for the assembly program because the principal, in delegating the duty, was not also conscious that the manner of delegation of duty has a relation to the realization of the goal of responsibility. Here we have another example of the possible conflict between institutional goals, as interpreted by a principal, and personal goals as interpreted by a teacher.

Personal responsibility in the group is also affected by the fact that although desirable interrelationships between various members of the personnel depend somewhat upon the conception which each member has of the nature and basis of each individual's work in relation to the work of the school as a whole, too often the acts of one group in the personnel are planned and executed separately and apart from the work of other groups. In some cases, for instance, the goals of education for a classroom and for a particular teacher are not formulated by the teacher in terms of conditions he finds within that classroom but are given to the teacher by an administration which assumes authority over this function. "Assistants in various fields should make the superintendency a joint effort and enable it to fulfill its high expectations. These assistants, who represent the constellations of jobs that constitute the superintendency, should be in harmony with the educational goals of the board

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are that they have little understanding of the organization. If these individuals had sought and discovered answers to such simple questions about educational organization as: "What is organization? Why is it essential? What are likely to be the more serious weaknesses of an educational organization? What are my personal responsibilities as an individual to the organization? What is the relation of the organization to me? What is a good organizational philosophy?" they probably would have made a more socially desirable choice of behavior.

Answers to such organizational questions and the understandings they imply will not, in and of themselves, necessarily lead to better action but the experience of pursuing such thought and the understandings resulting therefrom will be progressively helpful to school personnel and may conceivably lead to improved organizational behavior and better personnel relations.

Without doubt, knowledges, understanding, and appreciation of organizational matters are antecedent to more intelligent action in organizational situations. Few of the teachers who coöperated in a number of studies [18] concerned with organizational relations indicated that they had given any thought to developing a point of view toward organization. Almost without exception, those interviewed in connection with the studies expressed ignorance of this phase of their responsibilities. Groups of teachers, when asked to express what the term "educational organization" meant to them responded that they had only a vague conception. However, teachers almost invariably exhibit a concern that they be assisted in developing an understanding of and in formulating a helpful point of view toward the educational organization.

To some extent the teachers attribute their lack of understanding

[18] See J. M. Hughes, "The Attitudes and Preferences of Teachers and Administrators for School Supervision," *Northwestern University Contributions to Education*, No. 12, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1939; J. M. Hughes and E. O. Melby, "Supervision of Instruction in High School," *Northwestern University Contributions to Education*, No. 4, Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1930; J. M. Hughes, "A Study in High School Supervision," *School Review*, February and March, 1926, pp. 112–122, 192–198.

or the superintendent or they should not remain in their positions." [17]

There can be no question as to where the legal basis of authority rests for establishing the major goals of education in a public school system. But this mere fact of authority does not solve the problem of how to promote a deep feeling of responsibility on the part of the members of the personnel for the goals established for them by those who possess that legal right. The manner in which the organization operates, the degree to which personal and individual goals, as well as organizational goals, are realized will have much to do with the answer to that question.

Understanding Organization

We expect the organization to achieve good personnel relations by providing for group-wide participation and by providing for the promotion of a feeling of individual responsibility among members of the group. Related to these and somewhat dependent upon them is an understanding of the organization. To promote an understanding of the organization should be a goal of every efficient educational organization in operation. We expect the educational organization to be such that understanding of the organization will be promoted. It is only by completely understanding the organization that the negative attitudes toward the organization—the attitudes of partial identification, frustration, and ownership—can be changed and their adverse influence on personal relations corrected.

When a member of an educational personnel does not act in terms of total effects on the complete organization and on each of its parts, when a principal fails in the discharge of his responsibilities at the meeting of the P.T.A., when a new principal begins his tenure of office as though he had been a member of the new community all his life, when a teacher ridicules his own school while attending a meeting of a social club, or when a teacher maliciously throws a monkey wrench into a faculty meeting, the chances

[17] American Association of School Administrators, "The American School Superintendency," *Thirtieth Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1952, p. 269.

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Interpretation of Role

THE PROBLEM OF ROLE

A study of some of the principles of organization and an examination of some problems of the organization in operation bring out impressively the fact that the role an individual plays in educational organization is dependent upon the nature of the tacit agreements and mutual understandings he shares with others about what his rightful role should be. Because of the very nature of educational organization such agreements and understandings are subjects for considerable individual interpretation. In time, through close association and intimate interaction, each member of the group develops a conception not only of what he believes his rightful role to be, but also what the roles of each of his associates should be. He relates his role to the roles of the others and assumes that they will relate their roles to his. Thus in the mind of each member of the organization emerges an individual conceptual pattern of role behavior.

Individual interpretations, in time, tend to have a measure of uniformity. The structure of authority is an expression of the interpretations of roles which result because of a measure of consistency throughout the group with respect to relative roles. The structure of authority is truly a crystallization in the minds of the group members with regard to the leadership form of conduct. The com-

of organization to deficiencies in the undergraduate teacher training program. Usually these programs are specialized. The student is trained, for instance, to be a primary teacher. He is not trained to exert organizational leadership or to share in organizational activities in any area outside the sphere of primary teaching, narrowly interpreted. He learns to teach reading, language arts, arithmetic, and the like, in a static organizational setting. How to work organizationally and what his organizational responsibilities will be are overlooked.

From the administrator's viewpoint, it is especially significant that lack of organizational understanding frequently emanates from the manner in which the educational personnel coöperates. The administrator himself is also a factor. If a principal or a college president fails to utilize individual and group participation, the personnel will have little opportunity, or incentive, for understanding and acting in organizational terms. With the administrator's active leadership, any one group of the personnel, or any individual member of the personnel, will not be so likely to act in more or less isolation from other parts of the educational organization.

The Situation

In educational groups, perhaps more than in most personnel groups, leadership requirements vary with the situation. They vary with the school, the position in the school, and the part of the school involved. A deanship in one large university may be far different from a deanship in another university. Only the titles remain the same. The superintendency in a large industrial community makes different demands upon the individual than the demands made by the superintendency in a small, economically privileged suburban community. What leadership role is or should be in a specific educational situation depends upon the make-up of the personnel, the school situation, and, of course, upon the titular heads. How a leader at any time and in any situation functions depends upon his interpretation of his role in relation to his understanding of the group, of the roles of each individual in the group, and of his understanding of the situation. This means that, although some general characteristics, like those suggested in the concluding pages of this chapter, may be applied to good leadership, no blueprints of role can be given a leader in a classroom group, a leader in the university, or a leader in a school community group which will give specific directions for leadership or for interpreting the leadership role. A specific interpretation must always be made, therefore, by individuals working in unique situations.

Individual Motive

What the leader conceives his leadership role to be depends also upon who the individual is and especially upon his leadership motives. A university president, for instance, who is motivated to advance his own prestige can be expected to execute his leadership responsibilities so that the results will win a measure of popular acclaim for him personally. The school principal who is strongly motivated by a desire to use authority will flaunt his personal power. On the other hand, any administrator who is motivated, at

prehension of structure of authority extends not only to the question of who shall use a certain authority but also to some comprehension of how that authority is rightfully to be used. Perhaps in the field of human relations the question of the right use one should make of authority is quite as important as is the question of whether one has the right to use an authority.

If one further considers the factor of human relationships, it may seem that the question of the right way to use authority more nearly encompasses the whole of the leadership problem than does any other single consideration. In educational organization good human relations depend largely upon how authority is used. How authority is used and how it could or should be used is *the* fundamental question in every educational organization.

The contribution educational leadership, functioning in accordance with a desirable interpretation of role, can make toward the improvement of human relations has been implied throughout the previous discussion and the circular relationship which leadership and personnel relations bear to one another has been strikingly apparent. Each reinforces the other. This circular relationship will be a continuing thread of emphasis, oftentimes implied rather than expressed, in the materials of this and all subsequent chapters and especially in the three concluding chapters, which deal with certain illustrative administrative techniques.

Role interpretation is, at all times and in all instances, the key determinant to success or failure in improving human relationships. As we have said, leadership role is a fundamental problem. He who attempts seriously to formulate an acceptable viewpoint toward leadership must first be conscious of a number of limiting or conditioning factors which influence the organizational process and role interpretation. Among these limiting and conditioning factors we select for special consideration: the situation; individual motive; the existence of a number of varying popular concepts of leadership role; and the difficulty of formulating an acceptable abstract concept of leadership role.

does he turn first? What does this abstract concept of leadership rest upon?

ETHICAL BASIS. A leadership concept comes, in part at least, from a system of ethics. We assume that the leadership concept which is basic to a leadership role which is successful in the human relations field is a concept based upon understanding and appreciation. Understanding and appreciation may rest soundly upon a basis of but one kind of ethics, namely, the kind known as the ethics of coöperation. An educator derives such an ethical base for his leadership concept from study, observation, and conclusions about how people best work together. William James remarked: "The intellectual life of man consists almost wholly in his substitution of a conceptual order for the perceptual order in which his experience originally comes." [1]

By observing groups of children growing up together we see how the ethical concept of leadership becomes this kind of substitution. Leadership concept emerges slowly among infants. In the early years, personal characteristics of children play a dominant role in determining the pattern of leadership. As they grow older, likes and dislikes exert strong influences. Later in life abstract considerations enter, and when the adult leadership stage is reached, ethical considerations gain in importance. Then consideration is given such concepts as coöperative leadership, authoritarian or dominance leadership, competitive leadership, and the like.

These higher levels of abstraction then function to shape the manner in which leadership will be manifest in any concrete situation. For example, all school administrators in general and to some degree perform similar functions. They are all executives, participating more or less in planning and policy making, serving as educational experts for the board and in the community, officially representing the personnel, influencing interrelationships among the personnel, and so on. They differ markedly from one another not so much in the nature of their general functions as in the man-

[1] William James, *The Philosophy of William James*, New York: The Modern Library, p. 77.

least in part, by a desire to sustain desirable personnel relations and to improve them will tend to lead the group to resolve educational problems in a manner which neither deliberately adds to his prestige nor exhibits his power.

Motives, as they are revealed in leadership conduct, regardless of position filled by the individual, provide a clue to understanding leadership role. However, in order to understand a leader's motives and to see them in relation to his entire personality and correctly to appraise their part in determining the way he functions, as a leader, one must know something about his basic concepts of leadership. What are some concepts of leadership? Where do such concepts come from? Which concepts of leadership are generally popular? What are the concepts which seemingly have aroused praiseworthy motives, have stimulated a desirable type of leadership behavior among all the members of a personnel?

Difficulty in Formulating an Abstract Concept

Even if the situation were such as to make its leadership demands upon various members of a personnel clear and desirable, even though the individual who assumes the place of leadership interprets his role in a way which promises to be consistent with good personnel relations because he is motivated largely by a desire to achieve good personal relations, he still faces further difficulties. Should he proceed in terms of a visionary ideal, a glamorous concept of leadership? Many statements about leadership definitely fall into this type. Will such a concept tend to be only verbal and to be considered apart from a concrete situation? Will it be a concept without "cash value," so unsystematic as to be of little force in guiding action?

Suppose the individual develops a concept indefinite, flexible, and adjustable in terms of opportunity? Will he avoid the ideal and the visionary but be handicapped by a lack of consistency, inability to be articulate about what he thinks? Should he avoid both of these extremes and proceed cautiously and thoughtfully? Where

William James said: "Those who insist that the ideal and the real are dynamically continuous are those by whom the world is to be saved." James consistently stresses the belief that ideals, and also knowledge, facts, principles, generalizations, and opinions should be always interpretable into action. It is a mistake, for instance, for any educator who, of course, must be a man of action, to incorporate in his conceptual picture of leadership notions about the ideals which are to guide him any that are purely metaphysical. A most acceptable interpretation may be expressed in James' own words: "The solid meaning of life is always the same eternal thing, . . . the marriage, namely, of some unhabitual ideal, however special, with some fidelity, courage, and endurance; with some man's or woman's pains. And, whatever or wherever life may be, there will always be the chance for that marriage to take place."[2]

One may not always justly judge a teacher's or an administrator's action in a new or novel situation if one is unaware of the *unhabitual* ideal to which the action is wedded. Misinterpretation of the ethical basis upon which action rests has often caused efficient school administrators to be judged erroneously as having acted inconsistently with their own educational ideals.

When university income and student enrolment were precipitately declining in the spring of 1942 an administrator of one of the schools in the university faced the necessity of modifying the organizational arrangements relative to the Department of Religious Education. A transfer of the Department of Religious Education from the School of Education of the University to one of the biblical institutions on campus seemed to be the only solution. This meant actually discontinuing a department in one private institution and establishing it in another. The approach was made directly through the presidents of the institutions and the two boards of trustees with, of course, the knowledge and approval of those within the Department of Religious Education. When the transfer was made public the action was openly and conscientiously criticized by one of the administrator's colleagues. He objected to the

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 366.

ner in which they perform those functions. The manner in which they choose to perform the functions is largely contingent upon their ethical concepts of what they believe the nature of their relations with others should be and also upon their ethical concepts of what the relationships among various members of the personnel should be.

A desirable ethical basis for the concept of educational leadership implies acceptance of the fact that the very nature of education places upon the shoulders of all members of the educational personnel, regardless of position, an obligation to strive so to work together that their behavior will show that their education has stimulated a desire for and has resulted in a capacity to achieve a high level of group functioning. The individual who accepts a place of leadership in a school group—whether it be in an administrative position, in a classroom, or on a committee—has a responsibility to demonstrate in a concrete and identifiable way that the educated leader is ethically equipped to work harmoniously and coöperatively with his fellows and to lead a group toward realizing ethical objectives. To do this the administrator or other member of the personnel must formulate, each for himself, a conceptual picture of the role he is to play and of the ethical manner in which he should play that role in discharging his institutional responsibilities.

In improving human relations in educational organization it must be recognized that the concept of leadership which those in positions of authority and others of the group too accept, must rest upon some kind of an ethical basis.

THE FUNCTIONING IDEAL. How does one arrive at that ethical basis which he is willing to use as a guide when determining the nature of his leadership role? One's generalized ethical beliefs are the identifiable derivatives of one's ideals. The ethical concept of relations with others, which as we have pointed out is basic to the formulation of a concept of leadership, is closely associated with personal ideals and with the disposition to be influenced by ideals when acting. What interpretation and function, then, should educational leadership place upon the ideal?

sure way of losing an issue, might prove highly embarrassing to those persons most closely concerned and might serve as an expedient of escape from responsibility by a politically minded school administrator.

Confusing procedure with ideal of action and interpreting ideal of action independent of the concrete situation in which it is being applied will many times lead to a misjudgment of an administrator's action. On the other hand, an administrator whose actions are guided by a concept which is not based on an unselfish, high-minded, ethical ideal could use this kind of argument to justify dictatorial, highly selfish decisions. The point is that a line of action must be judged in terms of a given situation and of all the factors involved. An administrator must have ideals which guide him in making decisions, hence he can idealize no one procedure above all others and cannot assume that it will be right to follow one procedure in all situations.

The solution to any school administration problem, whether it be a problem for the administrator or for someone else, can seldom follow a simple prescription. But, as James has indicated, where problems exist, the marriage between the unhabitual ideal and fidelity and courage and endurance must always have a chance to take place. It seems clear that the marriage will not take place by blindly following some simple procedure which removes responsibility from an administrator's or teachers' shoulders and thereby serves him, or them, as a protective device, despite the fact that by doing so he, or they, appear to be consistent with some leadership ideal. Consistency with an ideal does not bind one consistently to use a given procedure. In other words, in the field of school administration there is no such thing as a purely democratic procedure. The ideal with which the procedure is consistent will determine the question of whether the given procedure used is or is not the correct one.

Procedure, then, should never supplant ideal nor should consistency with an ideal be confused, even to the least degree, with consistency growing out of a constant devotion to a procedure. Any

transfer on the ground that, while the solution was the only right one and the transfer inevitable, the administrator had been inconsistent with the ideal of democratic action because he had not first submitted the problem for discussion and approval by vote of the entire faculty of the School of Education. In the critic's opinion, it is wiser, in the long run, to conserve the democratic procedure, as he conceived it, than to achieve a desirable result. He believed the procedure followed had violated the democratic ideal. The two men had differing views as to the nature and function of an ideal.

The procedure followed had been selected by the administrator for several reasons. He believed it right and necessary that the program in religious education be continued. Obviously the existing arrangements were not effectual. It was desirable that the personnel in religious education be protected from the embarrassment of being discussed personally in a large group situation. The groups most seriously concerned, from an administration viewpoint, were those in office who had to make the plans and conclude the transfer which involved appropriate financial arrangements. These officers were approached directly and mutually agreeable arrangements were worked out. Subsequent experience proved that the final action was wise.

Because such complex situations, and there are many of them, call for the attention of administrators, for decision by administrators, the solution considered should always include a choice of procedures. By finally choosing a procedure which is not the usual one of engaging in public discussion and putting the issue to a vote, an administrator may be thought, by those who do not see the total picture, to have acted inconsistently with his leadership ideals. This misconception is due to the common error of failing to make a necessary distinction. The preservation of an ideal of action should not be confused, as it so often is in educational organizations, with the preservation of a procedure. The important thing is to be consistent with the ideal, not consistent with a single procedure. Actually, settling an organizational problem like the one described above by popular discussion which ends with a vote might be a

principal of a school, for example, by virtue of his position, is recognized as the one who is responsible for directing group action, thought, and opinion, for releasing energies and creative powers, for influencing and guiding the personnel of the school toward the most satisfactory group and individual achievements. He is popularly recognized as the one who assumes the ultimate responsibility for the action of the group, and in the main, whatever praise or censure he receives will result from the work of the group. However, the details concerning how he will discharge his leadership responsibilities are determined by his beliefs and understandings with respect to his role and the beliefs and understandings of other members of the group about his rightful role. The final conclusion about role will result from the interplay which takes place in terms of a particular situation. The day-to-day answers are therefore as varied as are the leaders and the groups and the situations involved. Each manifestation of leadership might, however, be ticketed as belonging to a given popular classification.

Various types of popular conceptual patterns of leadership with certain common characteristics have been grouped and classified somewhat loosely as: conservative, radical, progressive, monarchical, and reactionary. Although the ideas involved in such terms are usually identical with no two individuals, they are commonly applied to types of leadership and certain of their broad general characteristics are popularly accepted.[3]

Sometimes the concepts implied by any one of these classifications are assumed to be the expression of an ideal and hence should serve as standards for planning leadership role. One professional writer, for example, writing about educational leadership, laments the poverty of educational leadership, believes that such educational leadership as we have is largely autocratic, and suggests that all educational leadership become democratic. Another author would like to see educational leadership become what he calls

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[3] For research on leadership in general see: Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (eds.), *Group Dynamics Research and Theory*, Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1953, pp. 535–628.

administrator or teacher who becomes accustomed to thinking of appropriate action to achieve a worthy end, of appropriate modes of action which will afford maximum regard for human personality, and of ideals of action which will demand endurance, and courage, and even sacrifice, must cultivate the habit of applying intelligent discrimination to the matter of choice and variation with respect to plans and procedures. The ideals which are applicable to concrete situations dictate novel, not stereotyped, action. Novel action, or the varied manner of functioning, is on the other hand determined or limited to some extent by the competencies and experiences of the group involved and by the kinds of problems they face.

On this matter of role interpretation, some personnel groups are more discriminating than others. So likewise are the individual leaders in the groups. How shall we proceed to build, among the members of a personnel, this discriminating capacity, this ability to apply intelligence to determining and interpreting role?

Varying Concepts of Leadership

A further factor which conditions role interpretation and the formulation of a concept of leadership role is the fact that there are a number of different popular general concepts about what constitutes good or desirable leadership. There is no consensus among those who make up the school public or even among educational personnel about what constitutes expert educational leadership. He who would lead others must be conscious of what he believes his rightful role is. He must also be aware that members of the group may have varying concepts of good leadership role and in some instances the concepts may be widely divergent from his. Leadership concepts are not merely academic. They are deeply imbedded in the organisms of the individuals with whom one associates and they are potent conditions of every action.

Since a concept of leadership is an abstraction involving ideals and ethics and existing in the minds of men, concepts of educational leadership vary with the individual, and leadership means different things to different persons. The president of a college or the

At this point Calhoun attempted a *coup*, the gravity of which was under-rated at the time, and the purport of which has been much misunderstood since. The plan which he had sketched in his Charleston speech for a militant Southern party, to deliver an ultimatum and follow it if necessary by secession, possessed his whole mind. He watched like an eagle for an opportunity to consummate it. Observers noted that he was sleepless, haggard with anxiety, stooped as with a weight of thought, quicker and more fierce of utterance than ever.[6]

Astute political activities have been markedly successful in bringing power and prominence to men of inferior ability. Following Andrew Jackson's term of office, presidential leadership is described by Nevins:

For twenty-five years after Jackson left the White House, no man of high abilities entered it. What was more, the country knew that no man of high abilities occupied it. Calhoun, speaking to a friend in 1850 of Webster's fitness for the presidency, added positively: "But he is too great a man ever to be made president." In 1848, and in 1856, the country was given a choice of mediocrities, neither party selecting an impressive candidate. . . . Walt Whitman was fierce in his condemnation of these rowdy, vote-trading, incalculable gatherings.[7]

Politics ideally has meant science and art of government; the theory and practice of managing affairs of public policy. As a tradition, however, in the minds of citizens of a typical American community it is actually a struggle among men for power. Oftentimes the political method provides an easy and quick avenue to a position of prestige and authority. Because of the way politics has generally been conducted, citizens have learned to view the man of politics as a politic man—a man sagacious in promoting his own policies, ingenious in devising methods for gaining his ends, and a shrewd contriver of plans to promote his self-interest. Usually he is thought of as a man who will favor expediency before right, a man worldly wise and sophisticated. Typically, he is skilled in the art of public speaking and in addition he makes profitable use of all other procedures for getting people to do his bidding. A politician, in the

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[6] Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, Vol. I, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. 221–222.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 186–187.

strictly scientific. Each clings to his favored idea so rigidly that his theory of educational administration and personnel relations introduces an exactitude approaching the impractical. Neither is able to reveal how his ideal will function to determine the relative roles in cases where, for instance, the two might by accident have to work together.

We shall examine some of the popular classifications of leadership concepts as a preliminary to a study of the characteristics of a practical and useful personal philosophy which will guide an individual in determining his role and which will give recognition to the fact that human differences do exist and must be taken into account. It is assumed that a satisfactory, workable, personal philosophy toward role interpretation will duly recognize that individual members of the personnel give allegiance to varied leadership concepts and that whoever at any given time, and in any given situation, is the leader, his concept must allow for full recognition and a sportsman's regard for the concepts of the others with whom he is working.

THE POLITICAL CONCEPT. The political concept of role is the deepest and most widespread of the traditions of leadership among the American people.[4] The philosopher T. V. Smith, once a congressman himself, gives us a vivid description of this in a cryptic sentence. "It is only the political leaders who still on principle point to themselves rather than to facts, who depend upon mystic phrases, uttered in pious tones, for attracting and retaining their followers."[5] The method of the professional politician is largely that of influencing others and maneuvering groups. Allan Nevins describes Calhoun:

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[4] For a description of the political method as it operates in a city setting see William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942, Chapter IV, "Politics and the Social Structure." For a description of the professional politician in a lighter vein, see "Personal and Otherwise," *Harper's Magazine,* February, 1955, p. 18. For a scholarly analysis by a British historian see D. W. Brogan, *Politics in America,* 1954, New York: Harper & Brothers, Chapter VII, "The Campaign."
[5] Thomas Vernor Smith, *The Democratic Way of Life,* Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1926, p. 184.

who have developed great skill in the use of traditional political methods for self-promotion may even reach national prominence. Mr. Houston describes a colleague in President Wilson's cabinet:

When I saw Mr. Durgan, I spoke of the Mr. Bryan who had made a speech on the tariff and asked him what he thought of him. He answered: "He has a fine voice and a good presence, but he really doesn't know anything at all." I was to be reminded of this opinion many a time —the first time in Fort Worth, Texas, early in 1895, when I heard Bryan for more than two hours on the silver question. I discovered that one could drive a prairie schooner through any part of his argument and never scrape against a fact or a sound statement.[9]

Reports made by organized pressure groups against school systems and arguments given by some community leaders who have become disgruntled with the schools are typically as unsound as Mr. Bryan's arguments on the silver question. Nevertheless, as with Mr. Bryan, if they can speak eloquently, or write charmingly, their words carry much weight. As the tradition operates, the leaders who skilfully employ political methods are listened to and their arguments have telling effects. It should be remembered that Mr. Bryan lost the presidency by only a narrow margin!

But leadership of a political nature is not limited to the community outside the school. Educators, too, can use the method to gain and maintain various desired positions and special privileges. It is no secret that many of them do. Some time ago a man with an attractive personality but with little training and with only narrow educational experience in rural elementary schools was given the political appointment as county superintendent of rural schools when he was sixty-five years old. Pleased with the position and sold on the advantages of ascendency through political means, he entered the state primary campaign for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He made a thorough canvass of the state, repeating many times a patriotic type of address skilfully phrased and appropriate to the times. It was said that he held membership

[9] David F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet*, Vol. I, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1926, p. 37.

minds of the public, is an exceedingly partisan man, a Mr. Facing-Both-Ways as characterized in *Pilgrim's Progress*, one who would win position rather than promote a just cause.

All school communities include people who use the tactics of the professional politicians. Those who desire election as school trustees, citizens' caucus groups to nominate school board members, and undercover organizations promoting selfish interests frequently employ the political method and use the traditional leadership tactics of the professional politician. Some school offices such as state superintendents of public instruction and county superintendents of schools, are elective on partisan tickets and in some states the appointment of a school board is made on a party basis. The trustees of the University of Illinois, as is true in some other states, are elected by party vote. No well-organized educational personnel can afford to overlook the deep-seated hold the tradition has in the average American community. Unfortunately, if organizations line up against the schools and use the methods of politics in opposing schools the confidence and security of the personnel may be undermined and the resulting educational paralysis in human relations may make it difficult for the most conscientious teachers and administrators to render unselfish, meritorious service.

It is disillusioning and discouraging to recognize that in our American political system in every community selfish political leaders lacking the qualities of statesmanship often exert great influence and that this influence may be contrary to the interests of public education. In a report of an administrative crisis in an American university the following pertinent conclusion appears: "The faculty, individually and collectively . . . have been alerted to a sense of danger in this new merger of politics and public education. In education, at least, it is important to resist both the inherent badness of power hungry politicians and the suffocating goodness of men without ideas." [8]

Individuals who do not possess sound leadership capacity but

[8] George D. Stoddard, "Illinois, Illinois!" *School and Society*, April 3, 1954, p. 101.

ruled 30 B.C. to 14 A.D. over the Roman Republic as James Henry Breasted describes him. "The princeps was the real ruler, because the legions were behind him, and the so called republican State created by Augustus tended to become a military monarchy. . . . All the influences from the Orient were in the same direction. Egypt was in no way controlled by the Senate, but remained a private domain of the emperor. In this the oldest State on the Mediterranean the emperor was king, in the oriental sense. He collected its huge revenues and ruled there as the Pharaohs and Ptolemies had done." [10]

The earliest authority the child perceives is the monarchical type in the home. His father and mother are rulers. While he is in school the teacher replaces his father and mother in authority and the teacher's authority is supreme. The effects of this early experience in dependence on external authority may persist much too long—with some even throughout life. To a degree, the experience forms a background to an individual's concepts of leadership and to his notions about what is needed to build wholesome human relations.

We all received our first concepts about what is good, what is right, and what is wrong from someone whose authority we looked upon as absolute. Later we learned that our government is built upon positive concepts such as: all men are born free; all men are born equal; certain truths are self-evident; human beings possess unalienable rights; and the like. From such positive not-to-be-questioned principles which men believe in and accept we were taught to comprehend and accept our individual privilege and responsibility for sharing in leadership and for determining our own values. Public education in America seeks, ideally, to develop trust in the individual and so to nurture the individual that that trust which our country's founders expressed in the above-stated phrases is justified. By educating individuals who, socially speaking, can be trusted and by developing trust in individuals we have believed we would render improbable any wide acceptance of an

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[10] James Henry Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilization*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926, p. 597.

in a number of politically potent, pressure type, undercover, secret organizations. Perhaps it should not have been surprising that he was elected to that important office! Flushed with success and perhaps aware of the temporary features of the position, he aspired next to be the superintendent of a large city school system in the state. This was not a political appointment, but from his position in the state department he was able to exert sufficient influence to secure the appointment. Inevitably his professional inadequacies overwhelmed him. His life was too spent to allow him to save himself by getting training. His age, however, did make his sudden retirement plausible. Until his death he continued to exert political influence in the educational matters of the state, and to the end, aroused audiences by repeating his one successful, highly emotional, patriotic speech.

Every intelligent member of an organized educational personnel needs to be cognizant of the potency of the individual in the group who operates politically. He should recognize further the characteristics of unwholesome political influence, with its harmful effects on human relations. He should strive to counteract its effects and attempt, by any ethical means, to redirect the individual who follows an undesirable political method. Each trained member of the personnel should also examine his own many and varied leadership activities to detect and eliminate those which may fall into purely political classification as it is identified with that which savors of the selfish, the unsound, and the ruthless. This he must do while fully cognizant that the political method which he forsakes might afford him the easiest and quickest means of rising on the hierarchical ladder to power, prestige, and special privilege. This marriage between an unhabitual ideal and fidelity and courage and endurance is obviously not easy to effect.

MONARCHICAL CONCEPT. It is a long way back to monarchical government as such, but it would be a mistake to assume that its leadership traditions have disappeared with the passage of time. The essence of monarchical authority was its finality, its absolutism, and its vastness. Picture the real power of an Augustus who

scientific method and its possible contributions to a kind of education, thinking, and leadership which would improve the quality of human relations.

Like many words in the English language, the word scientific has been given a number of meanings and there is a great variety in the ideas about what is meant by "being scientific." Science may be thought of as a systematized body of knowledge, so systematized as to lead to the formulation of general truths. From that source comes the idea of a science of education, of a social science, and the like. Some think of science in terms of skill. Thus we hear that a prize fighter makes boxing a science. Staging television shows, directing the making of a film, even writing gags, have been refined to a science. A third meaning, and the one we shall utilize in describing a scientific concept of leadership for the improvement of human relations is the one which considers science a field of study in which the chief method is that of observation with a careful classification of conclusions from which are established verifiable generalizations or laws.

Following the reasoning dictated by this third meaning, a scientific concept of leadership involves taking the methods used in the physical sciences and making them applicable to the field of human relations.[12] The use of the method presupposes that a generalization can be made or inference drawn about what experience indicates to be the types of human relations most desirable. Thus ethical concept or intuitive assumption precedes the application of the method. Once the assumption is posed, observation of the consequences of what is done is then in order. Observation settles whether one form of action is superior to another. That is, a generalization is readied. A problem is, however, posed by the fact that even the most eminent of physical scientists sharply disagree about

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education from the viewpoint of a self-styled "true revolutionist" see Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker, *The Child-Centered School*, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1928, pp. 27–31.

[12] For an extended treatment of the subject see Stuart Chase, *The Proper Study of Mankind*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, Part I on "Charting the Field of Human Relations."

authoritative and monarchical concept of leadership. Nevertheless, like modern animal likenesses to the fossils found in the rocks, there is evidence that some present leadership practices in educational organizations are similar to those which existed long ago. This situation is neither unique nor strange. Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and others like them returned to the absolutistic practices of bygone times and discovered that a monarchical concept of leadership was neither unpalatable nor unacceptable to many millions of people.

In most American communities there are citizens in positions of authority who are accustomed to speak and to be obeyed like monarchical rulers of a small empire. They may have children in the school, may be members of boards of education, may be widely influential upon many matters which affect the school. They will use their influence and bring pressures to get their conceptual ideals of leadership implanted in the schools. Fortunately such individuals are not usually in the majority but their influences are often such as to affect personnel relationships. They are a force and a constant threat to other ideals of leadership and their possible effects are not to be ignored.

In leadership concept and leadership activities the members of every educational organization should seek to exclude from their own practices the authoritarian characteristics which are so easily assumed, which are inconsistent with the finer traditions of our nation, and which we believe are less effective in terms of what we desire to achieve in personnel relations and in teacher, student, and child experience.

SCIENTIFIC CONCEPT. In examining leadership for purposes of classification we find another type of leadership tradition which is strongly advocated by many writers. This type reflects the attitudes and methods of physical science. Frequently it is advocated that educational leadership, without reservation, adopt the techniques and cultivate the characteristics associated with the scientific concept of leadership.[11] Volumes have been written about

[11] For an appraisal of the results of the scientific approach to the study of

clusions of the nineteenth century science on philosophical questions are once again in the melting pot. . . . This may seem disappointing harvest to have garnered from so extensive a field of new scientific activity, and from one, moreover, which comes so close to the territory of philosophy. Yet we may reflect that physics and philosophy are at most only a few thousand years old, but probably have lives of thousands of millions of years stretching away in front of them.[15]

Perhaps at this time, in the field of personnel relations, all we can conclude is that the method of the physical sciences holds great promise for the future, but that for the present it may be expecting too much if we view it as giving a final answer to our perplexing problems.

POPULAR CLASSIFICATIONS. Any classifications of leadership concepts are, of course, made arbitrarily on the basis of selected characteristics. There are many types. The types overlap. One frequently used popular classification divides leaders into three types which, in their extremes, are called reactionary, conservative, and radical. In some intensity all these can be identified among the individuals in most educational organizations.

Reactionary educational leadership strives to reinstitute some pattern, structure, or procedure which has been changed. Something which was taken from the curriculum should be returned. High schools should revert to practices of mass failure, rigid selection for entrance, and promotions based on inflexible qualifications. Conservative leadership does not revert back but strives to preserve the *status quo* and to proceed with extreme caution when making any organizational change. The argument is that since progress has been made through adherence to tried and sound principles, every effort should be exerted to conserve all the good that has been gained. The radical leader finds little in present-day educational organization to commend. He is an arch critic and advocates basic fundamental changes oftentimes involving the novel, the unproved, and the untried.

Leadership personal characteristics of the three types, in the

[15] *Ibid.,* pp. 216–217.

how generalizations are best formulated. For instance, Sir James Jeans takes issues with the philosophical claims of Sir Arthur Eddington and especially does he disapprove of the extreme claims Eddington attaches to the importance of subjectivity in making scientific discoveries. Eddington says: ". . . I believe that the whole system of fundamental hypotheses can be replaced by epistemological principles. Or, to put it equivalently, all the laws of nature that are usually classed as fundamental can be foreseen wholly from epistemological considerations. They correspond to *a priori* knowledge, and are therefore, *wholly subjective*." [13] In his discussion of Eddington's claims, which he feels are somewhat extreme, Jeans gives this quotation from Eddington's writings:

> . . . an intelligence unacquainted with our universe, but acquainted with the system of thought by which the human mind interprets to itself the content of its sensory experience, should be able to attain all the knowledge of physics that we have attained by experiment. He would not deduce the particular events and objects of our experience, but he would deduce the generalizations we have based on them. [14]

Thus even eminent physical scientists themselves find it difficult to distinguish between discovery made through the application of the scientific method and man's interpretation of that which he has discovered. How much more likely are these differences to be accentuated in an area like that of human relations!

In formulating our conceptual abstraction about science and leadership—perhaps weighing such philosophical questions as the nature and significance of free will, determinism, freedom, *a priori* knowledge, cause and effect, about which men of learning have long argued—we are confronted with the question of how to proceed in the face of statements by careful and competent physical scientists such as the following:

If we must state a conclusion, it would be that many of the former con-

[13] Sir Arthur Eddington, *The Philosophy of Physical Science*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. 56–57.
[14] Sir James Jeans, *Physics and Philosophy*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, pp. 74–75, quoting Sir Arthur Eddington.

Not so good when people obey and acclaim him,
Worse when they despise him.

Fail to honor people
They fail to honor you.

But of a good leader, who talks little,
When his work is done, his aim fulfilled,
They will all say,
"We did this ourselves." [16]

The ancient philosopher's description of leadership as the art of influencing people has since been emphasized consistently in many descriptions of what constitutes good leadership. Descriptions in these terms have a simplicity and directness which give them charm and attractiveness. In terms of good personnel relations, however, how does such a definition measure up?

It conceives leadership to be definitely the function of an individual as opposed to a function of the group. In our definition of organization and in our discussion of the structure of authority and coördination we have proceeded in terms of the tacit agreements and understandings which make the group an organization. Ideally, power and function have been part of the group. Power and function have resulted from the organization in action. In the light of our examination of certain problems resulting from the organization in operation it has seemed highly desirable, in terms of good personnel relations, to adhere to this conception of the organization, to view its various parts and functionaries as inextricably involved in common endeavor. It follows, then, that a definition of good leadership in terms of an individual is not in agreement with our basic understanding of principles of organization which potentially foster good personnel relations.

Defining leadership in terms of an individual is further inconsistent with the pattern of organization which seems most desirable for personnel relations because, in predicting who will make a

[16] Witter Bynner, *The Way of Life According to Lao-tzu*, New York: The John Day Company, 1944, pp. 34–35. Copyright, 1944, by Witter Bynner.

school or in the community, reveal similarities. Generally speaking, an individual of any one of the three types is prone to defend his position with undue positiveness and to advocate his beliefs with considerable emotion, often substituting earnestness of conviction for intelligent reasoning. He will at times exhibit a combat attitude in which anger, repartee, and ridicule are typical involvements. In argument there is a tendency for the personnel member who is decidedly conservative, radical, *or* reactionary to be intolerant of the viewpoints of his colleagues and others—intolerant to a degree that results in an unwillingness to examine or even to listen to opinions which are different.

Every educational personnel faces the task of encouraging and assisting members and community groups to be conscious of the need for understanding and tolerance and to emphasize the importance of all attempts to bring about improvement in human relations—of avoiding the characteristic attitudes of the extreme reactionary, conservative, or radical. To be effective, whoever attempts to lead must be free from adherence to extremes and from the emotion, intolerance, and combative responses which are characteristic of extreme positions. Seemingly, the proponents of the strong "shot in the arm" method to accomplish what they desire have little success in raising the general tone of human relations.

DEFINING GOOD LEADERSHIP

Attempts to define good leadership were a favorite pastime of philosophers throughout earlier ages and their definitions are as varied as are the definitions of anything else which involves a consideration of values, a discrimination between what are good human relations and what are poor. Six hundred years before the birth of Christ (604 B.C.) the Chinese philosopher and moralist Lao-tzu spoke of leadership:

A leader is best
When people barely know that he exists,

1819) in attempting to be inclusive in defining a river produced this definition: "Every river appears to consist of a main trunk fed from a variety of branches, each running into a valley proportioned to its size, and all these together forming a system of valleys, communicating with one another, and having such a nice adjustment of their declivities that none of them join the principal valley either on too high or too low a level; a circumstance which would be infinitely improbable if each of these valleys were not the work of the streams that flow through them." The definition of a river is very complicated when it is made inclusive. How much more complicated would a definition of a broad term of human relations like leadership have to be to be equally inclusive! Obviously, a completely inclusive definition would be such a lengthy and verbally involved statement that it would not be useful.

It seems practical, then, to abandon the idea of developing a definition which is comprehensive. If we attempt to be brief and still to include the idea of flexibility what kind of a definition of leadership do we develop? Ordway Tead says: "Leadership is the activity of influencing people to coöperate toward some goal which they come to find desirable." [17] Even if we accept this definition we still face a difficulty. With leadership so defined, how are we going to refine the definition to make it apply to that leadership which is "good" according to ethical standards we previously discussed? It seems as impractical to strive for brevity in defining good leadership as it is to strive for inclusiveness.

Because we are interested in developing understandings which will advance our appreciation of and ability to cope with problems of personnel relations, we conclude that leadership should be defined in terms of a function of the group and not in terms of an individual influencing people. We discover that it is impractical to develop such a definition which would be inclusive. We conclude that a definition which achieves brevity is inadequate, that it is not

[17] Ordway Tead, *The Art of Leadership*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935, p. 20.

successful leader, it puts the emphasis upon the development of such personality traits as aggressiveness, dominance, ambition to control, and on physical characteristics like size, voice, and posture. Leadership in terms of an individual may be built largely upon attractive appearance and charming personality. On the other hand, leadership, which is a group phenomenon, which arises in terms of a group situation, gets its authority and power from the group, and is responsible to the group. This leadership always tends to place greater emphasis upon such factors as intelligence, potential performance, the structure of the group, relationships of the leader to others in the group, and the leadership role.

Besides the fact that the traditional definition of good leadership in terms of an individual does not fit into our understanding of the desirable educational organization and does not stress those qualities of leadership which seem to have most promise in promoting good human relations, we discard a definition in terms of an individual also because focus upon an individual will entail a resistance to change, especially change which affects the leader himself or affects his position or power. In defining good leadership, then, if we are to be consistent with our understanding that the organization is a dynamic institution and thus reasonably friendly to change, it would seem necessary not only to include the generally accepted emphasis on influencing people but also to recognize as a fact that good leadership is first and foremost a function of the group. This means that in the definition it is necessary to recognize the need for flexibility and change in function and in organization. How can good leadership be defined to include this quality of flexibility? Or, can an all-inclusive concept of leadership, one which will serve as a guide to proper interpretation of role, be stated as a simple definition?

If such a definition is possible, should it be more inclusive than were the definitions of those who focus on leadership's function of influencing people? Inclusiveness is difficult to achieve. Even when defining something that can be seen such as a physical object which is well understood it is difficult to be inclusive. John Playfair (1748-

the effect of the impact of certain philosophical forces and will have other definite features. What can we conclude, as a result of our observation, are the discernible characteristics of the leadership philosophies of the educational leaders past and present who have, according to standards of achievement which stress success in the personal relations field, been most effective?

Truly Personal

Perhaps the first outstanding characteristic of the leadership philosophies of these individuals is that the leadership philosophy is truly personal. A philosophy of educational leadership which one believes in and in terms of which one behaves in the group situation is unique, developed perforce within one's self, truly personal. One can, for example, read what Josiah Royce wrote about loyalty and know what Royce found to be a satisfactory guide to role determination. Royce can be of much help but he will answer no one's questions in the concrete and specific. Each must forge the answers in terms of his own background and beliefs and as he meets the continuum of life's daily events.

Related to the Contemporary

In addition to the fact that the philosophy is truly personal, it must be produced by, grow out of, and function naturally in the contemporary American social scene. Charles and Mary Beard say:

This idea of civilization, in a composite formulation, embraces a conception of history as a struggle of human beings in the world for individual and social perfection—for the good, the true, the beautiful—against ignorance, disease, the harshness of physical nature, the forces of barbarism in individuals and in society. It assigns to history in the United States, so conceived, unique features in origins, substance, and development.

Inherent in the idea is the social principle. That is to say: the civilization of men and women occurs in society, and all the agencies used in the process—language, ideas, knowledge, institutions, property, and in-

possible to formulate a definition which is satisfactory to our purpose. What, then, must we turn to?

We can observe the kind of educational leadership which promotes good personal relations and we can analyze leadership in that kind of situation. We can analyze the good educational leader, learn the general characteristics of his personal philosophy of leadership. We can make some conclusions about the personal characteristics of the individual who exerts expert educational leadership. But will all this give us a definition of good leadership? Obviously not. Observing, analyzing, and examining will give us a concept of good leadership, will give us direction in developing good leadership, but it will not give us a definition of good leadership. Good leadership eludes simple definition. We can arrive at no satisfactory collection of words and phrases which afford anything which approximates a satisfactory definition of good leadership. For help we must turn toward developing a conceptual order of role interpretation which is arrived at from our many and varied earlier experiences with leaders and leadership roles.

A PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY OF LEADERSHIP

Since it is impossible to capture what is meant by good leadership in a simple definition, we must find conceptual order of what good leadership is by observing it in action, by analyzing the manner in which it actually functions. In observing the expert educational leader one observes the expert educational leader's personal philosophy of leadership because in his behavior he necessarily reveals the predominant features of his philosophy. As we have pointed out, this philosophy encompasses his ethical understandings and ideals, sets the pattern for his concept of leadership and for his discharge of the leadership function.

A personal philosophy of leadership will be characterized more or less by some ingredients of the traditional concepts of leadership we have discussed—the political, the monarchical, the scientific, or something else. In addition, the leadership philosophy will show

Includes the Abstract

In this system of thought, as is the case with all systematic thought, there is enough of the abstract, of assumption,[19] of hypothesis, of the theoretical, to give desired definiteness, orderliness, consistency, and logicality so that it may serve for what the social scientists refer to as a frame of reference. "Frame" is an apt word whether used as a verb or as a noun since it implies fashioning or forming and conveys the idea of a constructional system which provides for a foundation and for a fitting together.

Linked with Reality

The abstractions which comprise the educational leadership philosophy are also sufficiently linked with educational realities to make the philosophy practical.

Educationalists have been indicted for using abstract terms without being able to translate their meanings into concrete situations. The expert educational leader may express his ideas in generalizations but he also has the wisdom and the ability to apply his generalizations to concrete situations.[20] He is apt in giving examples. His illustrations are culled from that which is significant, actual, and real, rather than from that which emanates from some book on wit. They will possess a concreteness which is readily understood. Sir James Jeans says: "It is no good telling a crowd of savages that the time-differential of the electric displacement is the rotation of the magnetic force multiplied by the velocity of light." Such a statement is concrete and meaningful to the trained physical scientist but useless as a means of communication with others. The effective educational leader will attempt to express his ideas, illuminated with examples, in words which can be fully comprehended by those

[19] The reader who feels bothered by the place of intuition and assumption in thinking will profit by reading an introduction to some beginning college textbook in physics. See, for example, Alexander Kolin, *Physics Its Laws, Ideas and Methods*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950, Chapter I and especially pages 6–9. The methodology of physical science is clearly described in these pages.

[20] See the discussion of techniques in Chapter 7.

ventions—are social products, not the products of individuals working in a vacuum.[18]

One's philosophy of educational leadership cannot function in a vacuum. For example, in observing a high school principal who is successful in solving some of the present-day youth problems we will notice that his philosophy reflects a rather thorough understanding of the contemporary problems of youth, of how these problems are the outgrowth of contemporary civilization. His philosophy in action shows the influence of existing knowledge of the current needs of youth.

Evolves into a System

A successful philosophy of leadership gradually evolves into a system. Like the painting hanging on the wall, it may remind one of some school of thought. The leadership philosophy may, from time to time, show the influence of a James, an Eddington, a Smith, a Mead, or someone else. The ideas, however, as they evolve, reflect an increasing rational interdependence, order, and coherence. As we gain acquaintance with the leadership philosophy of an individual member of the personnel we may, to an extent, predict his reaction to a specific issue. We cannot know him like a book, but his philosophy about leadership is characterized by a degree of orderliness and unity remindful of a systematized printed treatment of some subject.

Always in Process

The expert educational leader possesses a philosophy which is always in the process of being built. It is never finally formulated or inflexibly established. New situations, new clues, associations with people, exert their influence, modify, and sometimes displace some element in the philosophy.

[18] Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The American Spirit*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, p. 672.

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istrative leadership with that envisioned by the following statement. This latter illustrates the use of a philosophy of leadership in a situation where educational leadership is conceived as a function of the group.

The necessity for leadership in our modern life grows out of the impossibility for any man's being omniscient. But the same lack that necessitates leadership prescribes the kind of leadership needed. It is of the specialistic piecemeal type. In order to know enough to lead *here*, I must choose to be relatively ignorant *there*. That means that the choice that makes me a leader *here* requires me to be a follower *there*. But I must demand of him whom I follow, even as he demands of me, that he shall not put either his prestige or his interests between me and the facts. This clearly means that in a civilized society, every man must be a follower in many fields.[22]

The first quotation implies that only great men have a philosophy, that these bigger men somehow or other, like big and little walnuts in a barrel, sift to the top and from that elevated vantage point they pass their philosophy down to lesser men. The second states that each man has a philosophy that each may be a specialist at some point, may also be a big man, if you please, and that the problem is how to plan wisely, so that all the facts, opinions, knowledges, and generalizations held by various individuals can be brought to bear when considering a given plan of action.

The superintendent should and will have his philosophy. He may not, however, pass it down to his subservient even though highly trained professional subordinates. He will use it as his instrument for thinking and planning, when he and the group are projecting the work of the school. Each of the others will likewise employ his own philosophy.

The expert educational leader will say: "My philosophy is one that I believe in, but it is not one that I am obligated to defend. I shall use it as I work with others, in formulating and carrying out plans for the school. I shall, however, form the habit of looking away from philosophy, principles, generalizations, toward facts,

[22] Thomas Vernor Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–190.

with whom he works, whether they be children, parents, teachers, or others. The adequate philosophy of leadership will always link abstraction with concrete situations in easily understood ways. Whoever can succeed in doing this holds one of the most important keys to the improvement of human relations.

Serves as an Instrument

Finally, we observe the function served by a philosophy of educational leadership. What use does the teacher, principal, superintendent, or college president who is seriously interested in helping improve human relations within his organization expect his philosophy to serve? Certainly, the emphasis will be on service. The philosophy will be used as an instrument, an instrument with which to think, with which to plan, with which to project solutions to problems. The philosophy will look to action, toward doing something concrete within the school. It will not be something to look toward, something to defend at every turn. It will be something to look away from, toward something that is worthy of doing.

The successful educational leader thinks in terms of the consequences of what he proposes to do, especially of possible results upon human relations. It is at this point we observe some definite differences in a philosophy of leadership which views leadership as a function of the individual and a philosophy of leadership which views leadership as a function of the group. Following is a statement concerning school administration which illustrates the first point of view. The use made of the philosophy reveals that it rests upon leadership viewed as a function of an individual. "The leader of the group is the superintendent of schools who has a philosophy of education which he promulgates through the medium of his coworkers. The whole program of supervision should grow out of this philosophy. Maximum results can be accomplished only if it is clearly understood and wholeheartedly subscribed to by everyone in the instructional personnel." [21] Now, compare this idea of admin-

[21] Samuel E. Weber, *Cooperative Administration and Supervision of the Teaching Personnel*, New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937, p. 265.

personal philosophy of leadership has been subject to the influence of science. This may be, in part, the result of his training.

In our discussion of various concepts of leadership we considered the scientific concept which, in its entirety, is not applicable to educational leadership. The successful educational leader does, however, reveal certain characteristics which show that he possesses some of the leadership understandings encompassed in the scientific concept. In general, the successful educational leader has secured these understandings through his training in science. He has been trained in or exposed to the influence of at least one of the science fields—preferably one of the physical sciences. Such experiences have afforded the leader first-hand acquaintance with the techniques of the trained scientist who reasons from intuition and who thinks in terms of abstractions and the metaphysical, but includes in his concepts the concrete, the fact and the factual.[23]

The expert educational leader will reveal that he has had training in science by his devotion to details, his respect and reverence for potentiality in life's affairs, and his confidence in man's ability to observe. In other words, he views his observation of the effect of what he does upon human relations as the final court of appeal.

The expert educational leader will use scientific procedures as part of everyday procedures. He will seek progressively to incorporate his generalizations about scientific method into his dealings with people. Relying upon the methods the scientists use will influence his habitual ways of thinking about the effects of what he does upon others. In time this habit will affect his whole emotional structure.

As pointed out, the educational leader who utilizes the scientific method uses facts, principles, generalizations, laws, and respected opinion as instruments with which to think clearly. He develops the habit of finding facts and using them discriminately. He sub-

[23] For a penetrating analysis of the method of science see Lawrence J. Henderson, "Procedure in a Science" in Hugh Cabot and Joseph A. Kahl, *Human Relations*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 24–39.

knowledges, and especially toward the possible consequences and results to human relations. I shall not ask that others hold to the same philosophy as I. I shall ask only that we agree upon its use, namely, that we shall look upon our respective philosophies, principles, generalizations, as instruments with which to think, to plan, to project, and further, that we shall formulate our plans with possible results, consequences, and effects upon human relations ever uppermost in our minds. As we do this we shall be respectful of viewpoints other than our own, realizing that, through adequate communication, interaction, and concerted action we may achieve consensus and through group action our viewpoints will more than likely approach similarity. Observation of the consequences of what we do and group evaluation of what is done may tendentially lead to a desirable degree of like-mindedness which, by the nature of the group process, is impossible to attain in any other way."

INFLUENCES ON LEADERSHIP PHILOSOPHY

We learn about good educational leadership by observing and analyzing good educational leadership. We find that it is based on a philosophy of leadership which is truly personal, is related to the contemporary, evolves into a system, is always in process, and includes a measure of the abstract which is definitely linked with reality. It serves as an instrument with which to think and act. What are the influences which make the successful leadership philosophy what it is? What forces have worked on it? Science, religion, social philosophy, and the logic of common sense all exert influence which has an impact on the leadership philosophy. How may we judge the values of these influences and use them to improve the quality of human relations?

Influence of Science

The efficient educational leader who is conscious of the effects of what he does upon personnel relations usually reveals that his

ize with the abstraction. He uses it as an instrument with which to think out an answer.

Religion as a Contributor

Despite the fact that educational leadership benefits greatly from the contributions of science, the successful leader recognizes that science, as yet, has not answered many of the age-old questions of life. Man has not succeeded in generalizing the scientific method as developed by the scientists into a completely acceptable philosophy of life or leadership. Although the leader utilizes facts, insights, and the opinions of the specialists wherever possible, he is aware that they do not give him an entirely adequate answer—he does not rely upon them exclusively. He is also influenced by other kinds of well-considered thinking which in times past have proved serviceable to man.

Physical science influences the leadership philosophy of the successful educational leader in varying degrees. He gives due consideration also to another important source of leadership concept—religion. All concepts of leadership are confluences of the streams of thought which have come from a number of sources. Science itself is a merging of the old and the new. Some of the premises of earlier science such as that there is an "order of Nature" for example, were derived from religion. So careful a scientific student as Alfred North Whitehead calls this an "instinctive faith." ". . . The faith in the order of nature which has made possible the growth of science is a particular example of a deeper faith. This faith cannot be justified by any inductive generalization. It springs from direct inspection of the nature of things as disclosed in our own immediate present experience. *There is no parting from your own shadow.*" [25]

From those who dominated divine scholasticism came also the idea of cause and effect which has undoubtedly been one of the greatest contributors to the refinement of modes of thought. This is

[25] Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926, p. 27.

scribes to theory only when facts support it, thinks in terms of the concrete and in terms of reality. These qualities are typical of an educational leadership which is based on scientific concept. The educational leader influenced by science seeks to achieve definiteness and precision, to use only those words which possess a "cash value," to make his principles of action meaningful.

Finally, the successful educational leader who weaves the scientific into his leadership philosophy develops a technique of critical contemplation, shrewd prediction, and dispassionate evaluation of the effects of his plans and actions upon the quality of human relations. He will weigh the probable human relations effects of his every act as judged in comparison with the possible alternatives.

He will decide, for instance, whether, in terms of the total probable human relations effects, it is good to rate teachers. He will subject his practice to critical questions. What is the answer educational research dictates? Does rating make teachers happier, better satisfied? Does it promote better teaching? Better personnel relations?

In deciding, for instance, whether high schools should have honor societies he will observe the results of honor societies on students who belong to such societies and on students who do not belong. He will ask: Does failing children constitute a good practice? Does it encourage children to behave better? Does it make children happier? Does it lead them to be more effective all-round learners? Every practice he subjects to his habitual question: What are the human relations consequences of its being followed?

The educational leader whose philosophy of leadership is founded on the scientific faces all such problems in the concrete, examines all available facts, and studies effects and possible effects. He never rationalizes in terms of principles and broad generalizations. James said: "Rationalism is comfortable only in the presence of abstractions." [24] The expert educational leader does not rational-

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[24] William James, *Pragmatism*, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1916, p. 67.

social fields, have had relatively little effect upon American educational leadership philosophy.

The streams of thought from science, religion, and social philosophy when interpreted contribute significantly to the best educational leadership and to broader social understandings of teachers and administrators. Observation indicates, among other things, that many lucid thinkers of our time dwell outside the camp of the physical scientists. These thinkers merit special attention in the field of educational leadership because many of the most powerful forces in the world today are directed through channels that are not physical. In order to gain understanding of these sufficient for utilization for educational purposes, the successful educational leaders turn to experts who are devoted to fields outside as well as inside the fields of the physical sciences. The propaganda technique, for instance, has proved potency. Wars are now waged as much by psychological warfare, which causes havoc by undermining morale, as by physical means. Application of the generalizations of physical science, and an extension of the frontiers of knowledge and understanding in social, educational, political, and psychological theory promise increased help and direction to the formulation of a fruitful philosophy of educational leadership which will have as one of its major aims improving human relations in American life. The expert leader uses no one source to the exclusion of any of the other sources.

The social philosophers stress the fact that carefully formulated, organized, and systematized personal philosophies are basic requirements for successful and expert educational leadership because they provide the essential social foundations and reinforce resistance to the pressure of popular, infectious, fantastic notions, fetishes, fads, and artificialities which do much damage in the human relations field.

Dependence on Common Sense

We have observed the educational leader who is most effective in promoting good personnel relations, have studied the general

the inexpugnable belief that every detailed occurrence can be correlated with its antecedents in a perfectly definite manner, exemplifying general principles. It was the theme of the tragedies of the Greek School which preceded Christianity. Sophocles viewed the idea of destiny as a proved tradition and accepted fact of life, and carried the reader steadily and swiftly toward the expected end, tracing inescapable cause and effect. As discussed in the chapter on Observation, there is a tendency in some of the discussions on school administration to interpret logical order and definite statements about procedure as equivalent to being "scientific." It would be just as appropriate to term them "ecclesiastic" since it was the ecclesiastics of the middle ages who excelled in this style of reasoning.

It seems clear without further expansion that religious ethics and religious emphases upon cause and effect are applicable wherever the cause of improving human relations is a matter of concern.

Influence of Social Philosophy

In addition to the contributions from science and religion in developing a leadership philosophy, the expert educational leader receives much help from social philosophy. Many have found guidance in the writings of such American philosophers as James, Royce, Whitehead, Dewey, Mead, T. V. Smith, and others. Regrettably, perhaps, European philosophers have exerted relatively little influence on educational leadership here. Gestalt psychology, emanating from Germany and finding expression through such men as Koffka, Koehler, Hartmann, Brown, and Lewin, has philosophical implications for the improvement of human relations in educational organization. While it has, perhaps, had some effect in emphasizing unity and wholeness in educational organizational theory, the effects on organizational practices have not been conspicuous. Such writers in England as Eddington, Jeans, Thompson, Russell, and Hoyle, and writers in America known as social biologists like Allee, Thomas, and Park, and anthropologists like Herskovitz and Redfield, all of whom have attempted to apply their findings to the

board, a man trained in the legal field, a man with great confidence in himself, but a man who had at best very ordinary ability and who also had many strong prejudices and no professional educational training, took over the management of the affairs of the large school system. The public accepted his leadership without question because the public was predisposed to believe that the management of a public school system was as much a matter of the application of common sense as of anything else. After a number of years under his management and after his fumbling policies resulted in many failures, reflected in a sorrowful spectacle of deteriorated staff relations, public resentment became highly vocal. However, the public, by and large, still believed that the usurper to power in the administrative position had failed not because he was deficient in training, experience, and personality but because he did not possess enough good common sense to ensure success.

Actually, expertness in educational leadership is not possible without *specific* training and experience combined with definite high-type personal qualifications. It is a mistake to assume that one who has been successful as a general, minister, politician, surgeon, or businessman is, because of the special training and experience required for that type of leadership, endowed with ability to execute first-class educational leadership. This does not mean that such an individual may not, with an adequate investment of time and energy in training and experience ultimately become a successful teacher or even an able educational administrator. To do so, however, he must have a deep interest in teaching or in educational administration. He must also feel the need for experience and be willing to begin at the beginning. He must possess a willingness to secure the training essential to a transfer to the educational field, in other words, to develop a sense for what constitutes educational leadership.

Unfortunately, the American school public generally believes that common sense and not training and experience is the most essential requirement for good educational leadership. If a teacher or administrator makes a mistake, the mistake is due to the teacher's or

characteristics of his philosophy of leadership and some of the influences which have made his philosophy what it is. There is one influence which frequently bears upon general leadership in America, which, if depended upon to an exaggerated degree, has a negative, harmful effect on the leadership philosophy of the educational leader. This is the general belief in the efficacy of common sense to provide solutions to human relations problems.

In formulating a personal philosophy of leadership for the improvement of human relations in educational organizations there is, unfortunately, a tendency to minimize the importance of training and experience which facilitate the incorporation of desirable features from science, religion, and social philosophy and to substitute for these a disproportionate reliance on what is known as the logic of common sense.[26] Inability or indisposition to be critically thoughtful is frequently excused and even condoned on the grounds that the ability to use common sense in the solution of various school problems is a sufficient substitute for educational knowledge and insight. This somewhat general belief helps to perpetuate the faith that the man of general training and experience will meet educational problems as wisely as the man who, through extended study, training, and experience has prepared himself to meet educational problems.

The widespread popular veneration for common sense methods in solving personnel relations programs in our educational organizations depreciates respect for the expert leader in education and simultaneously elevates, to the level of expertness, the ability of the ordinary man of the street in solving educational problems. His opinions on educational matters, which actually are the result of his experiences, his biases and his prejudices, may become esteemed by the public as equal to or even exceeding the opinions of the trained educational leader.

Not long ago, in a very large city, the president of the school

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[26] For an able discussion on philosophy and common sense see Ralph Barton Perry in William A. Neilson (ed.), *Lectures on the Harvard Classics,* New York: P. F. Collier, 1914, pp. 130–131.

a variety of sources. He will not eliminate common sense from his leadership philosophy but he will suspect its answers and never make it the court of final appeal.

PERSONALITY TRAITS AND ROLE INTERPRETATION

Much has been written about the personality requirements of the individuals who play various roles in the educational organization. In the older studies an attempt was made to list the traits which a successful member of an educational organization should possess in order to discharge his organizational functions successfully. In 1929 Charters and Waples made a thorough research and arrived at a master list of teachers' traits.[28] They used four independent investigations to produce four sets of traits for teachers training at four different levels. The four lists were so much alike that the directors of the study decided to combine them. The traits were general to all levels and as applicable to one set of educational workers as to another. When it is recalled that a $42,000 grant was invested in this study one realizes that students of education at that time attached great importance to the study of traits as an avenue for determining and evaluating personality characteristics in order to enable members of educational personnel to discover appropriate roles either for themselves or for others.

Earlier confidence upon an assumed relationship between specific personality traits and success in achieving in some particular role in an educational organization has greatly diminished if not disappeared. It seems apparent that any attempt to improve human relations in an educational organization by following the path indicated by specific trait analysis methods will yield little of value. Current and more promising approach is directed toward understanding human relations problems and upon positive programs of

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[28] W. W. Charters and Douglas Waples, *The Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study,* Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 14–19. This study is well worth reading as a background to modern developments.

administrator's lack of that avenue of perception known as common sense. The principal of the grade school will deal successfully with whatever situations confront him if he uses common sense. The teacher who knows his subject well will administer his classroom satisfactorily if he has a reasonable amount of common sense. The president of a college may come to his position with a background limited to training and experience gained as a minister, lawyer, doctor, general, merchant, or something else, but he will be successful in the educational post if he has sufficient common sense. Particularly if educational administration is to insure the improvement of human relations in educational organization, all the educational administrator needs is an ample supply of that sense which Aristotle invented, and which he chose to call "common" sense because it seemed to exist somewhat independently of all the other senses.

James summarized the reason for limiting confidence in reliance on common sense in his lecture "Common Sense": "My thesis now is this, that our fundamental ways of thinking about things are discoveries of exceedingly remote ancestors, which have been able to preserve themselves throughout the experience of all subsequent time. They form one great stage of equilibrium in the human mind's development, the stage of common sense." [27]

Perhaps all of us at times fall back upon our preconceived solutions to personal relations problems, solutions which have perhaps come to us from those who have had strong influence over our thinking. They are the solutions or ways of solving problems which we have inherited from our own more or less remote ancestors. They are the solutions known by the man of the street. They rate well in popular opinion. In his leadership role the expert goes far beyond these solutions in forming wise and able long-range policies, in taking all factors into consideration in making important decisions, in passing judgment upon the worth of a given procedure. He draws upon a philosophy which is a synthesis of the thinking of many persons who, in turn, have derived their philosophies from

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[27] James, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

administrator, he cannot deny, where staff relations are at a low ebb, that he must assume that he has been guilty of some degree of failure. This interlocking of roles and role relatedness that exist among the personnel is somewhat comparable to the sun, moon, and planets which constitute the solar system. Displacement of one would cause a displacement of all the rest, but the sun remains the center of influence. Every school administrator has an opportunity to exercise educational leadership in ways which are exclusively his. If he does not provide wise leadership he misses the opportunity to contribute to the improvement of human relations. The greatest of these opportunities is that of using his influence with the personnel to release energies in concerted, creative, harmonious, worth-while action. Such action is engendered only by an administrator who can exploit his power of position with insight, understanding, and influence among the staff members.

Good teaching, study, writing, and research among the staff members are facilitated by favorable external conditions for which the administrator is largely responsible. These we discuss later.

Because it is fundamental to good leadership wherever exercised and by whomever, that the administrator perhaps more than anyone else understand and appreciate the potentialities and limitations of the personnel as individuals and as group members, the next two chapters discuss the problems of the individual in the organization.

Regardless of who the educational leader may be and regardless of the position in which he works, all personnel alike must find their personal satisfactions mainly in the achievements of the group with which they work. Especially must administrators, because of the position accorded them, understand the personnel, guide, direct, and encourage at every opportunity and promote conditions favorable to individual achievement to the limit of their ability.

The administrator must recognize as he works that the performance of his functions allows him to identify himself with no specific part of the final group achievement. He works for and through and with others. Since one important function is to facilitate the work

action. Focusing study directly upon the inventory, analysis, or evaluation of personality traits is attacking the problem at the wrong place.

The associationists in psychology probably have a point when they contend that the most dependable information about what to expect of an individual is indicated in what he has done in the past. Given a set of circumstances, if the administrator or the teacher has discovered and played his role successfully, has given wise leadership in the past, the likelihood is that he will do as well or better in the future. This puts the emphasis on the desirability of specific experience and training in developing qualities and minimizes the value of any attempt at a generalized appraisal of personality traits in relation to role interpretation.

UNIQUE ROLE OF ADMINISTRATORS

Because of the authority vested in him and because of the popular notion that leadership function is his first and foremost duty, the school administrator is potentially more effective in the modification of the behavior of the personnel toward one another than anyone else. Structurally the role of every other member of the staff must be determined relative to his.[29] It is therefore important, if relations among members of the group are continually to improve, that the administrator exhibit at all times the most desirable pattern of role behavior. Regardless of how rigidly prescribed his role may be, such prescriptions never dictate the details of behavior or of procedures.

It is a fact that skilled leadership on the part of school administrators can be effective in determining group behavior, shaping it for better or for worse. Since the behavior roles played by members of the personnel will always be relative to that played by the chief

[29] For a discussion of the confusion that exists in determining the roles of administrators see John A. Ramseyer and others, *Factors Affecting Educational Administration*, Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, Ohio State University, 1955, pp. 27–30.

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Sentiments and Attitudes

Behavior of individuals in an educational organization is determined to an extent, as we have seen, by the organization itself—by the tacit agreements and mutual understandings which exist in the minds of the members with regard to the coördination of their efforts. This influence is seen specifically in the operation of the structure of authority and in the operation of other aspects of the organization related to role interpretation. In addition to the influence of the organization, the influence of sentiments and attitudes—certain emotions and feelings which an individual has built up during his experience—are a powerful determinant of individual and group behavior.

As we attempt to gain an understanding of sentiments and attitudes as they are related to the organization and to the improvement of relations among members within the educational organization we direct our attention in this and the next chapter toward the individual in the organization. What are an individual's sentiments or attitudes? Where do they come from? How can they be identified? Why are they of such great significance in the problem of improving human relations in educational organization? How may educational organizations operate to improve them?

of others, his planning and his activity must be completely unselfish, determined entirely in terms of group welfare and group objectives. In this ability to find expression in the acts of others, to submerge self, he rises to a standard of true greatness, to a vantage place where he demonstrates that to improve human relations one must recognize the inescapable fact that success lies not in organization, in position, or in power, but upon the practice of those ethical concepts which form the basis for all satisfactory human relationships. An administrator who forgets that his true function is one of facilitating, who, as Americans say "cuts his ethical corners fine," is not likely to succeed in promoting a feeling of well-being among the members of the personnel. The greatest of our American educational administrative statesmen, at whatever level they have served, have been those who were eminently successful in consummating a marriage between their ethical concepts of what good human relations ought to be and their own well-chosen actions which were intended to make them so.

which have arisen in the course of human interaction are solved. In understanding personal reaction to the way in which the problems are solved, we must remember that attitudes and sentiments are involved in each personal reaction. It is because of this fact that while the solution to a given problem is important, as far as human relations are concerned, the manner in which the problem is solved is equally important. How a salary scale which applies to every employee of an educational organization is arrived at is of as much importance as are the items that enter the final scale. It is not alone a matter of the salary being fair to all the parties concerned, but it is also a matter of arriving at the final answers in what members of the personnel consider a fair and just manner. Attitudes and sentiments are formed in the process.

This principle has been implied in many of the discussions throughout this book. Its operation will be especially evident in the last three chapters, which deal with the effects which may accrue from the application of techniques in the educational organization. What we want to stress here is the potency of attitudes and sentiments upon any kind of important action that is taken in an educational organization. One very effective way to get a picture of the part attitudes and sentiments play in an educational system and of the potential effects of attitudes and sentiments throughout a school system is to read an expertly conducted survey of a local school system, read it carefully and deliberately to get a true picture of the attitudes and sentiments of the personnel. Such a reading will not reveal the nature of the existing personnel attitudes but it will reveal certain practices and conditions which give unmistakable evidence of the influence of attitudes and sentiments. "In general, it may be stated that the Gary school system program in vocational education is almost non-existent, in spite of the fact that the community provides greater opportunity for conduct of such a program than almost any other area in the United States. In fact, so obvious is this deficiency that a recent national report on vocational programs singled out Gary as a city in which this field was least developed, in contrast with other communities of comparable eco-

SIGNIFICANCE OF SENTIMENTS AND ATTITUDES

Perhaps our first acquaintance with the influence of sentiments and attitudes occurs when we observe individual behavior which seems strikingly inconsistent with logic. We are acquainted with the fact that frequently wide discrepancies exist between what men actually do and what men know they ought to do. In such cases, their action usually has been determined by their sentiments rather than by their considered judgment.

Sentiments, or those attitudes of man which are awakened by that which he considers to have positive worth, are as much a real part of a human being as is knowledge. When an individual appears to be acting inconsistently such may not be the case at all. He may be acting consistently—but consistently in terms of his sentiments. He may be behaving nonlogically, not logically. Note that behavior which is consistent with sentiment is not illogical or irrational behavior, but it may be nonlogical behavior.

It is because of the influence of sentiments that one cannot always predict individual action. Sentiments tend to baffle one who attempts to understand individual and group behavior in terms of reason and logic. Sentiments fit into no convenient classifications where their relationships, their causes, and effects may be analyzed and predicted. Difficult though it is to put a finger on attitudes and sentiments, realizing their great potential in determining human behavior, we try to gain some understanding of how they play their part in human relations in educational organization and what we can do about recognizing them, changing them, adjusting to them, and perhaps utilizing them in the best interests of relations among the individuals in a school group.

As indicated in our study of the organization and of role interpretation, the kind and quality of interactions among members of the employed personnel determine, to a degree, the problems as well as the achievements of the staff. The feeling of well-being or lack of well-being experienced by each individual member is in direct ratio to the degree of satisfactoriness with which problems

who would exert the most effective leadership in the group must be so well acquainted with the individuals who comprise the personnel that he has some understanding of and sympathy for the individual attitudes involved. He will observe how each individual acts and interacts, what each says and how he says it, what each does and how he does it. It is only by comprehending the feelings of the individuals, understanding their attitudes and sentiments, recognizing the stimulus for that which is nonlogical that the leadership function in an educational organization can be most effectively discharged.

As we have discovered, perhaps the most basic, and certainly the most important organizational problem as far as personnel relations is concerned, is the problem of role interpretation—the job of identifying the role an individual should play in the group, the roles of each of the others in the group and the mutual relationship of the role of an individual to the roles of each and all the others in the organization. Attitudes play an important part in determining individual behavior. In this matter of role interpretation, perhaps more than in any other organizational activity, sentiments, which are the positive attitudes, tend to be especially potent. In the interests of good personnel relations, then, it behooves us to attempt to get a clearer grasp of the meaning and effects of attitudes and sentiments. The social *psychologists* seem to favor the term "attitude" in writing of this elusive personal factor which involves biases, prejudices, and predispositions. Sociologists, on the other hand, seem to prefer the more positive and idealistic term "sentiment." What do students of attitudes say about attitudes which will be of help in improving personnel relations in our educational organizations?

MEANING OF ATTITUDE

George Herbert Mead's Interpretation

In seeking to understand some specific act of a particular person, or in considering how the direction of possible action might be

nomic and industrial base . . ." [1] How could a situation like this be explained in other than nonlogical terms? If one knew Gary well enough would he not discern among the body politic and perhaps among members of the educational personnel long-term, well-established attitudes which had more to do with shaping certain educational policies than any other single factor?

It is always difficult to analyze personnel relations problems in an educational organization from a purely logical approach partly because of this ever-pervading influence of sentiment and attitudes. The example above illustrates also that the influence of attitudes is not just a matter of relations among persons but that it may extend in its effects far beyond this, even to the building or omission of entire programs of education. Had the chapter in the *Survey* which analyzes the personnel in the Gary schools been selected, the influence of attitudes would have been even more vividly illustrated.

When logic and attitude combine to fortify the personnel's stand on a question, opposition by others to the stand, unless the personnel attitudes can first be changed, will probably be disastrous to personnel relations. Even in cases where the personnel stand is backed by personnel sentiment but does not have a strong logical basis, in the interests of good personnel relations, it is important to give careful consideration to the sentiments involved before making any radical change in a school system or educational organization. Nonlogical behavior, behavior dictated by attitudes and sentiments, is just as real and as potent in furthering a cause as is logical behavior.

In our analysis of the structure of authority, of the coördinating function, and of role interpretation it became clear that the right to use authority is not so important to personnel relations as is the matter of the right use of authority. How authority is used is a powerful factor in shaping the sentiments of a group. How to use authority in the best interests of the group must be determined, to an extent, by the sentiments of the group. This means, then, that he

[1] Public Administration Service, *The Public School System of Gary, Indiana*, 1955, p. 17.

John Anderson's Interpretation

A second analysis of the meaning of sentiments and attitudes which is a help to one's understanding of the behavior of individuals sharing duties with others in a school emphasizes the emotional content that accompanies sentiments. John Anderson writes: "The term *attitudes* includes not only the *negative attitudes* such as prejudice, bias, and the like, but also *positive attitudes* (sometimes called *sentiments*) which include our attachments and loyalties to persons, objects, and ideals. An attitude, then, is a system of ideas with an emotional core or content." [3]

When an individual's educational attitudes reveal a strong emotional core we may suspect that the lines of his action are largely predetermined. His initial reactions are likely to be set, or to say it more technically, the individual is in a state of readiness for motive arousal. During discussion and interchange of opinion with his colleagues, for instance, the reactions tend to follow a consistent pattern. In other words, if the emotional tension of an administrator, a supervisor, a professor, or a teacher is pronounced, there is less chance that his modes of thinking and acting will undergo modifications.

Lawrence Henderson's Interpretation

We gain additional understanding of what attitudes and sentiments are from the physiologist's description of the difficulties of identifying them.

The task . . . *is beset with difficulties, for we observe only manifesta-*
tions of the sentiments, not the sentiments themselves. . . . Next, the
sentiments often manifest themselves indistinctly; they are commonly
enshrouded in words and nonlogical reasoning; their manifestations occur
not singly but in aggregates. Again, our own sentiments interfere with an
unprejudiced analysis of the manifestations of the sentiments of others.
. . . And last, no sentiment is more troublesome than that which leads

[3] John E. Anderson, *The Psychology of Development and Personal Adjustment*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1949, p. 283.

properly influenced, Mead explains the act in terms of the person's attitudes as follows: ". . . Present results . . . suggest the organization of the act in terms of attitudes. There is an organization of the various parts of the nervous system that are going to be responsible for acts, an organization which represents not only that which is immediately taking place, but also the later stages that are to take place." [2]

Thus in any educational organization what a pupil, a teacher, a professor, a parent, a principal, or any other person does at a given time has antecedents in the predispositions of the respective individuals—predispositions which are persistent, potent influences in shaping the character of their feeling, perceiving, thinking, and acting toward others. Not only are the initial stages of a given act strongly influenced by the general attitude or sentiments of the person, but to some extent the later stages of the act, or the later phases of a series of related acts, are influenced by them. The first reaction made by a teacher to some problem presented, say by an administrator, at a faculty meeting will be a reflection of his general attitude toward such meetings, his general attitude toward the matter being considered and perhaps his attitude toward the individual making the proposal. This should not be interpreted as meaning that his initial response which is so important to human relations is wholly predetermined. He comes to the meeting with a number of possible responses to each of the items on the agenda. These possible reactions are in his nervous system. They are potent factors, but not the exclusive factors, in determining the teacher's responses. Since there are new elements present in each social-stimulus situation, the administrator who posed the problem and the situation are potent factors also. The individual's attitudes and sentiments are, however, potent determinants at the beginning of any given act, and they continue to be influential throughout the later stages.

[2] George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1934, p. 11.

and to study directly. How do we acquire our attitudes and sentiments? Where do they come from?

Products of Past Experience

Sentiments do not develop spontaneously. An individual's attitudes are products of his *entire experiences with persons and ideas* which, as he came in touch with them, he more or less unconsciously rejected or adopted. Educational attitudes are no exception. The attitude of a given teacher toward a colleague or toward some educational idea or toward an administrator does not arise solely from experiences with such persons or ideas. The total past is inextricably involved with the present. In the main, however, the teacher's educational attitudes, which form the basis of the teacher's system of values regarding teaching and school administration, have been derived from past educational experiences. These experiences, which exert a noticeable influence in present situations, may be experiences which occurred long ago and in many different educational situations. To understand a given teacher's attitudes fully we would have to view him in the light of all the school experiences he had ever had, beginning with his entrance to school. Even then, we may not fully understand all of them because home and other institutions have also affected him.

When we encounter some strange or adverse attitude, then, we should not assume that we were the cause of it. What we should do is to take the strange attitude into account when working with the individual who exhibits it, reminding ourselves that the attitude arose, at least in part, in situations outside our influence and that we will be one influence in shaping the future overt behavior which is related to it.

Attitudes and sentiments in the educational organization have been developed very much as they are developed with a child described by Walt Whitman in his often quoted words:

> There was a child went forth every day;
> And the first object he looked upon, that object he became;

"ideologists," the "intelligentsia," or "intellectuals," and in fact all of us, to mistake as rational what is nonrational in human behavior.[4]

As the interpretations make clear, the attitude factor, the emotional core, is in greater or lesser intensity a component part of all of us. In moderation, the emotional content which accompanies our attitudes is a bulwark for conviction, a desirable, reinforcing component of all our wholesome attitudes such as loyalty, coöperation, receptivity to new ideas, and even confidence. It is when attitudes toward working harmoniously with others are perverse and when such attitudes lead consistently to a kind of action which is adverse that attitudes lead to disintegration of wholesome personal relations among the members of the group.

In getting at the meaning of attitudes and sentiments it is well to remember, as Henderson points out, that each of us uses his own sentiments as a basis for judging the sentiments of the others with whom he works. Many of one's own judgments about the attitudes of others are predetermined by one's own sentiments. They are, in a sense, preformed judgments. Supervisors in an elementary school are apt to like those teachers best whose attitudes toward educational issues remind them of their own. They view their work with greater favor, have a stronger tendency to forgive and to overlook any flagrant weaknesses. It is a good habit for each of us to take stock of his own attitudes and especially to realize that they are factors in influencing the nature of our own relations with the others with whom we work.

HOW SENTIMENTS AND ATTITUDES BECOME ESTABLISHED

Such writers as Mead, Anderson, and Henderson give us some understanding of what attitudes are—the emotionally charged biases, prejudices, predispositions—which are so difficult to identify

[4] Lawrence J. Henderson, *Pareto's General Sociology*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. 20–21.

sidered standardized and become educational norms. New values which are adopted by individuals tend to conform to the norms. Thus, in a sense, an institutional superstructure operates to shape the sentiments, the likes and dislikes, the beliefs, the interests, the strong desires, and the values of the staff. Interest is generated by such educational norms because it is held that value, in a generic sense, attaches to objects of interest.

To promote individual growth and good personnel relations within an organization, administrators particularly must be aware not only of how educational values and norms affect the sentiments of people in general, but of the typical values which distinguish the personnel of the organization. In a school where the personnel is in accord with regard to many of the values they hold, and where these core values are deemed worthy, the problem of integrating staff effort is administratively much simpler than in a school where many important values of the teachers are inharmonious and perhaps even in conflict. Harmonious values not only facilitate effective school operation but affect favorably the sentiments of the personnel. A real problem arises when the administrator's educational values are inharmonious with the structural norms of the school staff with which he works.

Personal Attachment

Personal attachment is an ever-present factor in determining sentiment. One comprehensive survey of the attitudes of teachers toward school principals showed that more than 50 percent of teachers believed that their principals were unfriendly to them. Staff members respond to suggestions of administrators differently partly because of differences in their likes and dislikes for those who make them. When a negative social fixation is standardized within a single school group, such as a uniform dislike for the administrator, regardless of the cause, the whole approach to any problem must be modified. In effect, such social fixations act somewhat as coercive agents toward conformity by all members of the

And that object became a part of him for the day, or a
certain part of the day, or for many years or
stretching cycles of years.[5]

Values

Every member of the educational personnel should be inter-
preted in terms of a background of values which have been im-
pressed, almost forced upon him by all the social institutions in
which he was nurtured. The important thing to remember is that
when he faces an educational issue, these values predispose him.
He has accepted them as he would a ready-made suit of clothes and
he will employ them, unless otherwise influenced, in deciding
which side of an issue he will support. It improves the understand-
ing of an administrator in working with a teacher, a teacher in
working with an administrator, or a teacher working with a pupil
or another teacher, to realize that each individual has many estab-
lished values which he has gained from his educational and other
institutional and personal experiences and that these values have
been established so strongly that they determine whether he will
act with some emotion, either in a negative or a positive way, to-
ward an issue, a person, or a situation.

Educational values are also basic to the building of educational
attitudes. By value we mean that which an individual considers
highly desirable, regardless of the reason for the worth he attributes
to it. A worthy educational objective, chosen by a teacher, is a
value. The point to be emphasized is that through the educational
values held by the professor, teacher, or administrator, preferences
arise, and when such preferences become persistent, they are em-
bodied into sentiments. If a professor believes strongly that what
he teaches a student will definitely enhance the life of that student
he will, because of this value, have determined preferences with
regard to his teaching. If certain educational values are common to
a large number of the staff of an individual school, they are con-

Transfer

Sentiments may also be influenced by what the sociologist calls the transfer of attitudes. This is closely related to the factors of personal attachment and prestige which also operate in the realm of personal relations. Modern society, for example, places a premium on specialization. An individual who develops one or several skills to a high degree has bestowed upon him considerable widespread popular approval. Sentiments toward him are strong and favorable. In high school or college, the outstanding athlete wins the admiration of the entire staff and student body. In the university the eminent scholar acquires wide prestige. Almost every community has its great surgeon, its outstanding lawyer, its leading public citizen. Position, wealth, unusual degree of power may result in this kind of prestige and widespread admiration. Individuals with standing thus achieved are often very influential in shaping the attitudes of others. A person in the school community who has, by skill, wealth, position, or in some other way achieved eminence which commands breadth of esteem, has thereby achieved great power to influence the attitudes of others toward the schools, even though such individuals may know very little about problems of education.

Prestige tends to become generalized, and the person who has it is listened to with respect on almost any matter about which he cares to speak. This has both good and bad effects. In handling a school crisis involving a community we will probably depend upon the influence of any individual who is fortified by prestige. In Gary, Indiana, during a school strike resulting from a racial problem, Frank Sinatra, whose claim to fame was that he was a crooner popular with adolescents, was imported by the Mayor of Gary to influence the strikers! In the case of a teachers' strike, where one may find unusual examples of sentiments in action, those who attempt to end the strike work closely with those who are the accepted school or community leaders. They are successful to the degree that the key persons have desirable attitudes or can be influenced to a wholesome point of view. The results are unfortunate if the person

staff. On the other hand, where a large proportion of the staff has social fixations favorable toward one another, toward the administrator, or toward certain well-defined educational aims, such attitudes are likely to be adopted by the staff generally and matters can move along with more certainty and at an accelerated rate. In a school where the best educational values are accepted and standardized and are the common property of the entire staff, there is a minimum of friction traceable to differences in sentiments. As a social psychologist says: ". . . we shall . . . make the assumption that the relationship between personal liking and cohesiveness is a circular one . . . other things being equal, the more members of a group come to like one another, the more cohesive it will be; and the more cohesive a group becomes (as a result of factors other than personal liking) the more its members will come to like one another." [6]

Because of the effect of personal attachment upon attitudes, an educational administrator who assumes a new position will be wise if he proceeds slowly for a time. This is true especially in situations where his predecessor terminated a lengthy and highly successful tenure. Perhaps obvious improvements, which could have been made readily under the previous administration, must be painstakingly prepared for. It cannot be assumed that cohesiveness among the staff is inherited by one administrator from another. Nor can it safely be assumed that affection or lack of affection for the old administrator will be transferred to the new. Even where transfer of affection takes place, cohesion and affection must be further achieved anew under each new administration. If any member of an educational personnel depreciates, ignores, or fails to recognize the factor of personal attachment in the development of attitudes he will have a blind spot which may warp his understanding of people and handicap his leadership as he attempts to influence sentiments and personnel relationships.

[6] Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*, New York: The Dryden Press, 1950, p. 640.

under his administration attest to his effectiveness in comprehending individuals and in influencing their attitudes in desirable directions. As group sentiments are improved, the degree of satisfaction which accrues to each member, as he plays the role he assumes, is increased. As each performs his interlocking role with increasing effectiveness, each reinforces the accomplishments of all the others in their roles. Each staff member not only increases his own satisfactions but he contributes to the satisfactions of all the others. A school staff which achieves a high degree of cohesiveness encourages sentiments which are fundamental agents of emotional reinforcement in which the satisfactions of one member of the staff reinforce the satisfactions of all the others.

What about attitudes in conflict among members of the same group? Clearly, conflict lessens satisfactions and results in educational waste. Disintegrating conflict can, however, be avoided. The avoidance and resolution of conflict is developed more completely in the chapter on achieving participation. If open conflict is allowed to persist, not only is educational efficiency reduced, but personalities are adversely affected. Resources may be available and their potentialities wasted. A given school, under conditions which allow conflicting attitudes to persist among the staff, despite an imposing list of instructional resources, may actually be inferior in terms of achievement. The danger is most serious when the attitudes of the administrator and those of the majority of the staff are at variance.

The problem is not solved, nor are the human relations improved, by the popular but questionable method of adding specialists to the staff or by multiplying the number of titular officials, ostensibly to assist the administrator in solving organizational problems. Adding to the personnel does not necessarily increase the opportunities for wholesome interaction nor does it, in and of itself, contribute to an expansion of shared influence. An individual high school staff member is neither more nor less influential because an assistant principal is added to the personnel, but the direction of his influence may be changed. This kind of action may encourage antagonistic attitudes. Groups may be built within groups.

who enjoys the prestige happens to be one who is unwilling to lend his influence to resolving conflict or if his influences are contrary to the best interests of the school. When problems occur, the power of prestige to influence the attitudes of whole groups of people—teachers, pupils, parents, and others—must be considered.

Group Membership

We recognize that attitudes have their origin in past experience, that they grow out of our values and personal attachment. In addition, in interpreting an individual's attitudes, we must be cognizant of the fact that an individual must be viewed as a member of a group as well as an individual, if we are to understand his attitudes and know something about where they come from.

Any educator in any position may be one kind of person on the street, at home, or at the luncheon meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, and behave as an almost entirely different kind of person on the occasions where he and the other members of the group are aware that he acts as an official and may use authority vested in him because of his position. Behavior changes from situation to situation and attitudes are not part of an individual in isolation only.

An individual's attitudes toward the group and toward activities of the group can be understood only through the closest acquaintanceship. This is, as was said previously, because sentiments may not be directly observed. They must be inferred from what is done and what is left undone. The quality of human relations that exists among the members of an educational personnel reflects not only the attitudes of the administrator or other members of the group as individuals but also as members of a group. In the group situations group norms have legislative influence.

An administrator, in particular, because of his unique position in the group, may strongly influence a change in group sentiment. He influences, usually more than any other one person, the allocation of roles to each member of the group, assumes the initiative for integrating these roles, and has the responsibility for promoting cohesiveness within the group. Group sentiments which develop

Should we, in the interests of personnel relations, strive to have all members possess identical sentiments and become like-minded? Actually, even if that were desirable (which it is not), it would be as impossible of achievement as is the absolute, perfect adjustment of any individual to life. The organizing process continues, change is inherent in the individuals, in the group, and in their relationships. Nothing so static as continuing unanimity of sentiments can be expected. We can, however, achieve a degree of sameness in sentiments, a common denominator of like beliefs and attitudes. By participating, interacting, arriving at mutual understandings, the group tends to smooth out the extreme deviations and to broaden the core of common sentiments and shared attitudes.

Attitudes which greatly influence individual and group action are acquired in part from the characteristic attitudes of the personnel. An individual's attitudes are related to all his experiences, including the experiences he has had with and through the group, and to the mutual processes of interaction within the group. It is an error to assume that a school can operate as though attitudes develop in a vacuum. All members of a staff should be conscious at all times that group membership is a potent influence on group and individual attitudes.

PROFESSIONAL LITERATURE AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

There seems to be no doubt that individual and group attitudes have much to do with the success or failure of an educational organization. We have traced the origin of attitudes to such factors as experience, values, and group membership. In the experience of educational personnel, their acquaintance with professional literature tends to have a more or less lasting effect upon their attitudes. Professional writers have, in the main, had a wholesome effect upon the attitudes of teachers and have tended to reinforce the program to improve human relationships. Especially is this true in school systems where the practice is to refer to educational literature for

Some students of school administration believe that increasing the complexity of an organization, as a move to solving problems of conflict will, without exception, contribute to a crystallization of opposing attitudes. A disproportionate number of titular officials in a public school or a university can conceivably reinforce the undesirable attitudes of those on the staff who have an aversion to conspicuous accentuation of rank and to what, in their minds, is an unwarranted emphasis on the existence of many kinds of better-paid authorities. Under no conditions will the number and type of titular officials in an educational organization serve as a reliable criterion for judging the sentiments of the personnel. The number and type of titular officials in an educational organization may have a definite effect on the sentiments of the personnel, however.

Unfortunately, in educational organization, in our desire to achieve the conformity which makes for smoothness of operation, we tend to look upon those members of the personnel whose attitudes deviate markedly from those of the majority of the group, those who take a strong positive stand on matters, as individuals who are obtuse or perverse. If we regard the individuals as obtuse or perverse we tend to be impatient, even intolerant, and conflict is likely to result. Sentiments may be strong on both sides. Actually, destructive conflict need not arise. Even if it does, certainly such conflict should not be considered irreconcilable. If each member of the group is cognizant of the presence and power of sentiments in shaping attitudes toward members and issues, he will not regard the extremist as obtuse or perverse. Each will recognize that differences are normal among the members of any group of considerable size and that the way to achieve is through a process of participation which leads to mutual agreement, perhaps compromise, with regard to any policy or problem. If the difference arises because of varying sentiments expressed, say, by a teacher and his principal, a professor and his dean, the tendency is for the principal or dean to expect to have his way. Overcoming that tendency so prevalent among school administrators requires conscientious effort and a sincere desire to improve personnel relations.

tion, direction and improvement of the educational activities of individuals working at one administrative level, administered by superior officers working at higher administrative levels." [7]

An experienced, well-trained, and skilled teacher who reads that she may be inspected and directed by "superior" officers working at "higher" levels is likely to react with a feeling of mild, and perhaps lasting resentment. Professional writers who imply that the school administrator in any large school system is always the wise and benevolent leader and the teacher frequently a loyal but inept follower probably make the implication unwittingly. The writer who is responsible for the quotation given in the preceding chapter stating that "the principal of a school in a city school system occupies a peculiar and somewhat confidential relationship to the superintendent of the school system and his connection with the superintendent's office must be on a higher plane than if he were merely a teacher" is undoubtedly a writer who is concerned about the welfare of teachers and the progress of the schools. Unfortunately when such writers use expressions like "merely a teacher" they give teachers the impression that teachers are considered professionally inferior to those who hold higher titular ranks. They contribute to an undesirable teacher attitude which, in our endeavor to improve personnel relations, to develop unity and friendly interaction within the faculty group, we find it necessary to overcome.

A negative attitude toward higher ranking officials is likely to be aroused when the superintendents of public school systems, in their writings describe their own roles as highly exalted without making the point that what is said would apply to any great educator. For instance: ". . . the role of the superintendent of schools, state, county, or local, calls only to the brave and the tender-hearted, the strong and the gentle, the adventurous and the wise, the dreamer of the 'patriot dream that sees beyond the years,' and the sensitively skilled in practical logistics." [8]

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[7] Fred C. Ayer and A. S. Barr, *The Organization of Supervision*, New York: D. Appleton & Company, Inc., 1928, p. 348.

[8] American Association of School Administrators, "The American School Superintendency," *Thirtieth Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1952, p. 65.

guidance in solving specific problems. Occasionally, however, the personnel encounters statements in professional literature which have an adverse effect upon teachers' attitudes. Unfortunately teachers tend to assume, often erroneously, that such statements reflect toward them a general point of view of the writer, of the profession, or of the public.

By extracting portions of some professional book or article, removing them from their original context, asking a number of well-qualified teachers to read them carefully and then, in interview, to explain how they were affected by the statements, it has become clear that certain kinds of professional statements arouse negative attitudes almost without exception. Also, possibly because these were in print, they were often assumed to be the attitudes toward teachers of practicing administrators as well as of the professional writer.

In seeking to improve personnel relations by fostering favorable attitudes and by avoiding conditions which contribute to unfavorable attitudes, the personnel might well remember, when consulting professional literature on some particular problem, that because a writer expresses a point of view it cannot be assumed that it is the point of view either of his own administrators, his own colleagues, or of other writers or of the profession generally. It is but the point of view of one person. It should be further kept in mind that it is the reasoning back of what is written or spoken that makes the statement significant.

Interpretation of the Teacher's Role

Statements which seem to arouse unfavorable attitudes among teachers are concerned with an interpretation of personnel role. Sometimes the teacher's role is interpreted disparagingly in relation to the roles of other personnel. Sometimes the administrator's role is glorified in such terms that the teacher's role becomes insignificant in contrast. Sometimes illustrations are given the teacher which are so highly exaggerated that they are patronizing in their effects. "Supervision is a specialized function devoted to the inspec-

Highly imaginative suggestions which the professional educational writer sometimes accompanies with exaggerated illustrations also add to teacher resentment and to antagonistic attitudes which they have a tendency to transfer to their own situations. A high school teacher might well resent being told about an administratively conceived history project which, in the words of the professional writer "was so successful that it claimed the enthusiastic attention and support of the entire faculty and students and even many of the parents and interested citizens all of whom devoted a great amount of time and energy, because of the project, in helping to solve future problems of the school."

Grade school teachers, especially, have an aversion to suggestions made to them in professional literature in a patronizing spirit. The following is paraphrased from an article on elementary school supervision: Said the principal to the teacher, "Mary, have you ever taken a stroll after school with your problem child, Imogene?"

The teacher replied, "I have never thought of that marvelous idea, sir! It just never occurred to me!"

So they stroll. They look in windows. They go into stores. Imogene, who never talked before, the next day tells of her experiences to the class, relates her experiences to her work—her art and her arithmetic. Imogene is transformed. So is the class. The teacher too, perhaps. All from one idea! When, a week later, the principal accompanied by another supervisor visits the classroom, Imogene performs beautifully and because of her the whole atmosphere of the schoolroom has been transformed. The principal, by a wise and simple suggestion, showed that he was a very competent leader! Another example of the superiority of those who are so brave and so tenderhearted!

An educational administrator in the school, striving to promote good personnel relations, is seriously handicapped when teacher attitudes are antagonistic toward those practices which are intended to help them. When educational writers write as though they believe teachers are on an inferior plane, recommend procedures which end in busy work, give highly imaginative suggestions and

exaggerated illustrations, and offer ideas in a patronizing spirit, they not only cause resentment and dislike for what is said; they also accelerate the development of unfortunate attitudes toward good administrative practices generally. If all professional writers will be as critical of their own attitudes toward teachers as the best of them are and will attempt to help teachers as one colleague helps another, they may contribute to the improvement of teacher attitudes and of human relations both in given school systems and in the profession generally. It seems that most professional literature should lead to better morale, as a great deal of it does, if the teacher is to make a good investment of his time in reading it.

Interpretation of the Administrator's Role

Professional literature also tends to foster negative attitudes on the part of the personnel when it involves a discussion of the role of the administrator. In this area professional literature is often vague in its description of the rightful role of the administrator and of his responsibility in staff relations. Textbooks flounder on the subject. One author writes:

In the broadest sense, the study of supervision does not deal merely with a single functionary, the supervisor, but with any of several educational leaders, principals, heads of departments, special supervisors, directors of instruction and superintendents. In fact, it is increasingly taken to include parents, retired teachers, and other citizens interested in the schools and in the community at large. In a way, therefore, programs of supervision involve personnel from the children of a nursery school on up through all grades, the entire instructional staff and laymen.[9]

Typically, the supervisory role of an administrator in a public school system is a difficult one to determine.[10] The teachers and administrators are aware that one has official rank and salary advantage and that the administrator, the one with the higher rank

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[9] William T. Melchior, *Instructional Supervision*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1950, p. 5.

[10] This problem is analyzed by the writer in James M. Hughes, "The Role of Supervisor in Business Education," *The National Business Education Quarterly*, May, 1955, pp. 10-16.

and salary advantage, has had less first-hand experience with the given type of situation than the teachers. It is unfortunate if, in addition, the administrator has to overcome the handicap of antagonistic teachers' attitudes perhaps resulting in part from the indefiniteness such as is expressed in professional literature, about what they are to share.

As we have said, understanding the roles of individual members of the group in terms of responsibilities and limitations is essential to good personnel relations. Adequate communication is fundamental to these understandings. Indefiniteness about supervisory functions by those who write as authorities in the field is a barrier to communication, lessens understandings, and may well contribute to unfortunate initial and lasting attitudes toward supervisory activities and toward those administrators who attempt to perform them.

SENTIMENTS, ATTITUDES, AND THE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

As Henderson says, it is extremely difficult to identify sentiments. What we conclude about sentiments and attitudes is based on our observation of what individuals and groups do and how they do it. When group behavior tends toward the nonlogical, tends to be strongly emotionally reinforced, we may conclude that sentiments have had a powerful, stimulating influence. What can we observe in the behavior of typical school groups which reveals personnel attitudes and sentiments? Are there features in the organization which, logically and reasonably, should be educationally productive and yet do not seem to realize maximum achievement? Are there features of the school organization whose relative ineffectiveness can be explained only in terms of antagonistic attitudes? When we discover such features we must look to sentiments and attitudes for an explanation.

In one study, 280 high school teachers and 55 high school administrators expressed their preference for various types of high school

organizational patterns by using a rating scale.[11] The teachers indicated a favorable attitude toward an organizaton which provides clear and definite allocation of authority. They were not favorable to developing an organization from scratch or to participating in radical, sweeping, rapid reorganization. The teachers, however, were equally unfavorable to a static organization. They indicated that they believe constant organizational modification is normal and desirable for encouraging good personal relations and that teacher participation in the organizing process is favorable to the development and improvement of wholesome attitudes toward educational organization. The teachers definitely preferred an organization which provides adequately for shared experiences in the organizing process. They expressed a belief that there is a close relationship between the kind of organization and the quality of personnel relations within the organization.

The Superstructure

In the light of such information about an educational group, would it not be like proceeding in the face of a strong, opposing wind to attempt to impose some kind of a rigid superstructure on the group? Reason might, conceivably, support the superiority of such a superstructure as far as efficiency is concerned, but all the logic in the world will not make it successful if the personnel have strong feelings that they should share in developing the superstructure.

As discussed in the chapter on organizational operation as related to personnel relations, the superstructure exerts a strong influence on group behavior. The attitudes of staff members in educational institutions are, in most cases, favorable to group activities to the degree that staff members have played an influential part in determining the organizational superstructure which more or less governs them.

[11] J. M. Hughes, "The Attitudes and Preferences of Teachers and Administrators for School Supervision," *Northwestern University Contributions to Education*, No. 12, Evanston, Illinois, 1939, p. 16.

The superstructure rests on educational norms—standards of action or relatively lasting roles in conformity to which the educational personnel behaves—which are variously embodied in the pronouncements, directives, rules, regulations, requirements, salary schedules, promotion and retirement policies, curriculum organization, marking systems, organization of subject matter, departments, and the like. Obviously, the superstructure is a powerful influence in shaping the attitudes of the personnel, in predisposing them favorably or unfavorably toward the organization and toward individuals within the organization. Regulations which are rigid, detailed, restraining, or are considered unreasonable tend to foster negative attitudes. If the rules, customs, brief written directives are the product of group sharing or if they can be accepted as reasonable, necessary, flexible, and fair, the attitudes of those whose relationships and activities are thereby regulated will generally be favorable. Modifications in the organization which move toward the latter situation, then, may be expected to influence a change in the direction of more favorable personnel attitudes toward the superstructure.

Favorable attitudes seem, for the most part, to be related directly to group participation. The quality of participation is determined, in part, by the fluency of group communication and interaction. Attitudes of suspicion, lack of belongingness, and misunderstanding can be counteracted only by adequate two-way communication and mutual interaction. It is a common and disappointing experience for the dean of a college or the principal of a school to discover that his carefully worded Monday morning directives or painstakingly prepared reports, mimeographed for the faculty, are received with a disinterested, cynical attitude. When this happens it is usually because such an administrative procedure does not afford the personnel opportunity either to share or to react. The action is one way only and there is no interaction.

In the interests of good attitudes and favorable sentiments, and hence in the interests of educational success, it is important that, in

every size of community, staff members be given the opportunity for maximum practical participation in determining provisions of the superstructure which closely concern them such as retirement, promotion, salary schedules, and pensions. It is in these realms of organizational life that sentiments are strongest because the personal, emotional element is ever present. Consider how much a good state pension system, arrived at through wide participation, can contribute to raising the feeling of well-being among all the teachers of the state!

Administrative and Supervisory Practice

Sentiments of the school group affect and are affected by various administrative and supervisory practices. In general it is true that when an administrator's plan promises to arouse or meet with strong antagonisms, no matter what its other immediate effects, the administrator may be judged to have acted wisely when he modifies, postpones, or abandons the plan. This is true not only because of current antagonisms, but because when an individual experiences strong antagonistic feeling, the effect tends to be lasting, to color his long-time reactions, to influence his sentiments and attitudes.

Whether public school bond issues, salary raises, and other school projects are supported is determined as much by the attitudes of the citizens toward the administration of the school as it is by the urgency of need. The voter votes in terms of the attitudes he has built toward the schools and the school personnel. If it happens that the community attitudes toward the manner in which the school is administered by the entire personnel have become general, or standardized, have become a behavior norm, then almost regardless of what a personnel does in an immediate situation, the issue is won or lost before the campaign begins. When a bond issue carries thirteen to one, it is likely that a standardized educational norm of the community, the good relations among the broad school group, have found expression in a concrete situation.

A high school principal and the teaching personnel may desire,

because of educational considerations, to have the high school annual produced and printed within the school. If, however, they realize that businessmen and others in the community are very proud of the appearance of the present annual which is printed by a commercial firm, and believe that it contributes much to community prestige, then, instead of changing the policy, the principal and the personnel will work to extend community understanding of the educational experience involved in producing the annual within the school. They will, in other words, work for a change in community attitudes toward the publication of the annual. In time, after a change in attitudes, the new plan for producing the annual may be carried out with the full approval of the businessmen.

School boards may disregard popular attitudes and follow through with some minor plan. The chances are, however, that by so doing they will weaken the chances of success in some perhaps more worthy and important future cause. For example, in Illinois, an effort was made to consolidate an independent elementary district with an independent high school district. The voters, after hearing all the arguments in the case, voted heavily against the proposal to consolidate. As a result of the election activities the attitudes of the elementary teachers, who strongly desired the consolidation in order to improve salaries and prestige, were bitter toward the high school teachers who, afraid of adverse effects upon them personally, had worked to defeat it. The hostile attitudes of the two groups were adopted by the community. After the voting was over it was clear that it had been a mistake to proceed with the campaign without adequate initial consideration of the teachers' attitudes. On the surface the consolidation proposal had great merit. It was the manner in which the merger campaign was conducted that left lasting schisms. As a result, the community has completely changed its former liberal attitude toward school support and has consistently voted against a number of subsequent proposals for bond issues to improve the schools in either the high school or elementary school districts.

In the relative ineffectiveness of typical faculty meetings we have

another illustration of the potency of personnel attitudes. Unfortunately, experience and tradition have established the faculty meeting as a gathering where usually there is an opportunity only for what the psychologists label coaction type of social behavior as contrasted with interaction type. The administrative official usually devises an agenda, presides himself or decides who shall preside, utilizes most of the meeting time personally, and in general, dominates the meeting. Despite much effort toward improving the faculty meeting by scheduling meetings on school time and regularly, carefully preparing businesslike agenda, having committees give finished reports, and so on, the school personnel in general patiently submit to the faculty meeting and somewhat sufferingly endure it. That their attitude may be nonlogical and unreasonable does not alter the fact that their predisposition to be resigned to the faculty meeting and to be unenthusiastic and unresponsive is a handicap an administrator struggles with when he attempts to achieve through the faculty meeting.

In the chapter on achieving participation the whole problem of faculty meetings and the value of small group meetings as a substitute are discussed. In the small group meetings, where each member functions as a part of a closely knit, cohesive group, relations tend to be more of the interaction type and the administrator is only a participant. Typically, adverse attitudes toward faculty meetings do not carry over to small group meetings.

When the supervisor visits a teacher's classroom he too sometimes encounters adverse teacher attitudes. As developed in our treatment of the administrative techniques of observation and evaluation this negative attitude is probably largely the result of the fact that teachers associate visitation with a display of power by a higher-ranking member of the personnel, with evaluation and perhaps, even, with ranking and with salary promotion. The same negative attitude carries over into the supervisory conference with the teacher because the conferences are traditionally a follow-up of classroom visits and are also part of evaluation by a superior officer. Before classroom visitation or supervisory conferences can be really

successful in helping teachers to improve their teaching and in promoting good relations among members of the personnel, teacher attitudes must be favorable toward them. This means that the teachers must have satisfying experiences growing out of classroom visits and supervisory conferences which will tend to build new and more elevated sentiments. The practices must be designed to achieve an educational purpose which the teachers share, must be separated from appraisal and judgment, and be directed toward desired help and guidance. Visitation and conferences must obviously be part of a continuously developing program.

In the behavior of typical educational groups we can observe the effect of strong attitudes and sentiments. In features of the super-structure, in some activities of the administrator and the supervisor it is not difficult to observe that wisdom indicates an alertness to the effects of attitudes and sentiments on behavior, an awareness of the impossibility of achieving the best for personnel relations and education generally, by ignoring or going against prevailing atti-tudes. Unquestionably favorable attitudes toward administrative practices and organizational activities and toward members of the personnel are basically essential to maximum achievement.

ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATIONAL WORK

Attitudes are, of course, important indications of personal as well as group adjustment. Personal adjustment in relation to personnel relations is explored in the next chapter. At this point it may be indicated that the personal, individual attitude one has toward educational work is a great factor in determining success in the educational organization. We know that it is highly important to have an enthusiastic attitude toward educational work because educational work is work with individuals, and individuals' respon-siveness is related to their own and the educator's enthusiasm.

By way of illustration, consider the subject matter teacher who is enthusiastic about his work. Among other things, we can be sure

that the attitude is in part a result of the fact that the subject matter teacher has a sound acquaintance with the material encompassed in the field and a strong, personal interest in that material. It is not simply that, and that alone, but that is a large part of the reason for enthusiasm. The enthusiastic attitude seems related to educational success.

The teacher who knows well the field he teaches is relieved from the uninteresting and onerous pressure of learning as he teaches. This relief alone can make him a more confident, spontaneous, and responsive person, and potentially a more effective group member. Then, if this knowledge is accompanied with an enthusiastic attitude toward teaching, other favorable attitudes are reinforced. Potentially the teacher with an enthusiastic attitude toward the subject taught and also toward teaching as a vocation is not only more successful in his work with children; he is also potentially a more effective participant in school and community educational endeavors.[12]

Personal attitude toward the organization, toward the personnel and toward one's own role and responsibility in the organization are all potent factors in the success of the group in achieving its educational goals as well as in achieving the auxiliary, related goal of wholesome human relations within the broad school group.

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[12] A study: J. M. Hughes, "Factors Conditioning the Achievement of Pupils in High School Physics," *School Review*, March and April, 1925, pp. 191–200; 292–302, surveyed achievement of pupils as affected by the amount and kind of training the teacher in physics had received, keeping constant other factors such as intelligence of pupils, size of school, and the like. No significant differences in the achievement of pupils showed up until the achievements of those who studied with teachers who were college physics majors were explored. This group excelled by wide margins those who had studied with teachers who had had, respectively, no college courses in physics, one year of college physics, or two years of college physics. Interviews with the teachers who had majored in college physics revealed that they had a strong liking for teaching physics. Interviews with those who had not majored in physics revealed that they had not developed a very favorable educational attitude toward teaching physics. Those who had majored in college physics not only knew the subject well, but they had built strong, favorable attitudes toward teaching it, and this definitely was reflected in the achievement of their pupils in physics.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT ATTITUDES IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Although attitudes and sentiments are extremely difficult to identify, it is not difficult to recognize that attitudes and sentiments do have a profound effect on group and individual behavior in the educational organization. What should we do about attitudes in our effort to improve human relations in the educational organization?

Perhaps the first thing we should do is to take full cognizance of the great potency of attitudes, remember that action and reaction may be determined just as much, and in some cases more, by attitudes and sentiments as by reason, logic, and sober judgment. Teachers are asked to remember that, when a child learns, the related feeling aspects which eventuate into emotional attitudes toward what is learned, toward how he learned it, and toward the one who helped him to learn it are of the greatest educational significance. The whole child is learning, learning in all aspects of his being. It is in terms of the emotionalized attitudes acquired that the child makes most of his future choices. We should not behave as though this principle applied only to children. We all learn as children learn. Our attitudes, too, are learned. We are constantly alert to the importance of providing an educational environment which will be conducive to the development of the most desirable social attitudes in children because we recognize the tremendous force of attitudes in influencing child behavior. It is, for the same reason, equally important to provide an educational environment which will encourage the personnel in an educational organization to develop desirable social attitudes.

Before we can make definite effort to change undesirable attitudes and to build desirable sentiments, it is, of course, important to know the attitudes of the group and to face the fact that we have been and are in part responsible for the attitudes. By knowing an individual staff member's sentiments in regard to a specific matter, an educator can predict to some degree how that person will initially react to some specific situation, to a given suggestion, or even

to some particular individual. Of course, the educator could predict better how an individual might react if he knew that individual's past completely. Since that is out of the question, it behooves him to learn what the individual's present attitude is and not to be unduly concerned with possible and perhaps highly hypothetical causes.

Studying the attitudes of the personnel will give the educator some understanding of the sentiments of his colleagues. It will reveal the degree to which his own purposes and projected solutions to problems coincide with the more favorable sentiments of the staff—the degree to which his colleagues will tend to share his purposes and proposals.

We should become well enough acquainted with the group to know the important sentiments and attitudes of the individuals and of the group. It seems clear that, if negative attitudes are associated with certain practices, we can change the attitudes only by changing the practices. If, for example, in a particular educational group there is a lack of faith in the administrator which seems to be linked with negative attitudes toward the faculty meeting, the practice of scheduling supervisory conferences, or certain detailed and unduly restraining features of the superstructure, how could we go about building an attitude of faith in the administrator and avoiding negative attitudes?

In the long run, faith in the administrator will depend upon the purposes which the personnel believes are motivating his actions and by the whole-heartedness with which they accept these purposes. It is not enough for the personnel to say "He *means* well!" They must share his desire for achievement in what he is trying to accomplish. If we continue, for instance, to have a faculty meeting, even though we modify the procedure, is it not probable that the negative attitudes associated with faculty meetings will continue and that the administrator will find it difficult to get the group to share what he desires from the meeting? Would it be wiser, then, to substitute new and different activities for those which are disliked or resented?

Instead of the traditional faculty meetings we may, perhaps, have gatherings called "teachers' institutes." Or, we might improve on the so-called "institutes" which traditionally allow for little teacher participation in planning and use instead the "workshop." The workshop and the institute avoid the traditional unfavorable teacher attitudes. Current educational workshops, which usually are included as so many regular days of teaching or which otherwise carry a salary increment and toward which most teachers seem favorable, are planned, organized, and conducted with the help of the teachers. Problems selected for study are pertinent to the teachers and to their situation. Educational resources of the entire school system, including buildings, laboratories, visual aids, library, and cafeteria are available. Sometimes special teachers, supervisors, and administrators from other school systems or university professors are invited to assist the group. One current trend is to consider the school year a twelve months' term and include the workshop. This is a kind of activity which has been substituted for the faculty meeting and which, generally, has not had to overcome negative teacher attitudes.

In order to overcome negative attitudes to supervisory conferences and certain features of the superstructure, special small interest-group meetings might well be substituted. For instance, the specialist in art, in industrial arts, or in something else might arrange to work with several teachers in a group. The psychological advantages of this kind of practice are of tremendous importance. The older practice of having a supervisory specialist take over a teacher's own class and demonstrate to him alone inevitably emphasized unduly the teacher's weaknesses and the specialist's superiority. By demonstrating to a group of teachers, the specialist, serving as a resource person, has the challenge of preparing carefully to illustrate a special point, to put forth his best efforts to an interested audience, and to encourage interaction among the group in the discussion following. No single teacher feels that he has been criticized. Each feels freer to contribute to the discussion and each benefits from the reactions and suggestions of others who have sim-

ilar problems. Feelings, sentiments, emotions, all have been important considerations in changing the supervisory conference and substituting the small interest-group meeting. More will be said about small group meetings as a technique in achieving participation in a later chapter.

What should we do about attitudes in our work to improve personnel relations in the school organization? We should be fully aware of their potency. We should know the school group well enough to be familiar with the main individual and group sentiment. And, as we behave organizationally, we should always be guided by what we know about these sentiments.

6

Individual Adjustment

In our study of the problem of improving personnel relations in the educational organization we have concluded, among other things, that it is of utmost importance to be aware of and give full recognition to attitudes and sentiments as they are related to individual and group behavior. As developed in the preceding chapter, attitudes grow out of all the experiences an individual has had. All his associations have entered into the development of his values, his sentiments, his predispositions. Now in seeking further light on the problem of personnel relations we continue our study of the individual but we change the focus and turn our attention to the broader problem of complete personal adjustment. Because it is necessary to make a practical limitation on our observation of personal adjustment, we shall observe the individual's adjustment mainly as he adjusts to his educational organizational environment, including those with whom he works. It can be assumed, to begin with, that there is a vital relation between personal adjustment and personnel relations. In our effort to improve personnel relations we must accept a responsibility to do all we can to promote wholesome individual adjustment to the complete environment and especially to the education group.

WHAT IS ADJUSTMENT?

Some Typical Adjustments

There are certain broad, more or less typical kinds of adjustments that we all tend to make to certain kinds of situations. The following illustrative situations are arranged somewhat in terms of the complexity of the adjustments they elicit.

CAR WILL NOT START. A simple and direct adjustment which an individual makes may be illustrated by the principal who has arranged for a luncheon for visiting school inspectors from the state department. He has made reservations at the hotel for a private dining room at 12:15 and is especially hopeful that the occasion be a pleasant one. When he leaves his office for the hotel, at noon, his car will not start. He loses ease and composure, feels frustrated and worried. He makes a relatively simple adjustment by calling a taxi and by arriving at the appointment on time.

TELEGRAM OF DISCHARGE. More complicated adjustment, more emotion, and more lasting effects usually result from adjustment problems which involve situations related more directly to security or prestige. While a superintendent of schools was attending a meeting of a national association of which he was a highly respected member, he received a telegram from the secretary of his school board stating that the board had decided to relieve him immediately of his administrative responsibilities. The problem of adjustment, in this case, is more complex and the problem confronted is more serious. Its solution takes more time, involves more factors, and is complicated by greater physical tension.

DISSENSION AMONG TEACHERS. Sometimes the adjustment is complicated further by the fact that the individual does not behave only as an individual but his adjustment must be made in terms of group membership. In other words, he is not completely free in his choice of action to achieve personal adjustment.

In a large city half of the teachers belong to the local teachers' union. This group disagrees strongly with the superintendent, the

principals, the school board, and the remaining group of teachers about a number of important policies, including some that apply to salaries. The staff is divided and tensions mount, at times, to war-like dimensions. As a result the entire community—including many pupils—takes sides. The situation results in an adjustment problem for a large number of the personnel. It is grave because disagreements which grow out of differences on issues which are fundamental may remain unresolved and the heightened tensions of individuals may persist.

BELIEF INAPPLICABLE TO A NEW SITUATION. Another very difficult kind of adjustment involves an individual, usually somewhat of an idealist, who finds himself adhering to a belief which is inapplicable to a new and rapidly developing situation. In this case personal adjustment may involve a modification in beliefs or ideals which may not be easy to achieve.

Professor Harold Laski, an avowed social extremist, at the beginning of World War II wrote a book, *The Strategy of Freedom*, which was prepared for American consumption and designed to sway the opinion of American students and educators. In the book he urged unquestioned loyalty, by those of every political faith, to the leadership of the conservative Mr. Winston Churchill, until the war was won.

A similar situation occurred in the life of Mr. H. G. Wells, who was an avowed pacifist. He published an editorial in the *New York Times* on August 5, 1914, two days after England declared war on Germany:

The trampling, drilling foolery in the heart of Europe that has arrested civilization and darkened the hope of mankind for forty years—German imperialism and German militarism—has struck its inevitable blow. . . . Never was war so righteous as the war with Germany now. . . . (the military outcome) will be more or less definitely decided within the next two or three months. By that time, I believe, German imperialism will be shattered, and it may be possible to anticipate the end of the armaments phase of European history. France, Italy, England and all the smaller Powers of Europe are now pacific countries. Russia . . . will be too exhausted for further adventure. Shattered Germany will be revolu-

tionary. . . . The way will be open at last for all these western powers to organize peace. That is why I, with my declared horror of war, did not sign any of these "stop the war" appeals. . . . Now is the sword drawn for peace.[1]

The adjustment in these two examples involves a subordination of long-avowed beliefs and principles and an about face in behavior in the stress of a new and serious situation. Critical events often necessitate striking changes in patterns of adjustment.

A Normal Process

What can we conclude about personal adjustment from the simplified adjustment illustrations given? It seems obvious at once that adjusting is continuous. Whether we make a simple adjustment by making a minor change in our environment or make a complicated adjustment by modifying a cherished ideal, the process of adjusting is a normal part of plain every-day living. Unfortunately, adjustment has frequently been discussed as though it applied only to people in need of psychiatric help. Adjustment is in reality one aspect of the normal life process.

There is, of course, a wide variation in ability satisfactorily to dispose of one problem and to move on with apparent complacency to the next. This does not mean necessarily that those who make a satisfactory adjustment approach their problems with perfect imperturbability, or that they have no misgivings or feelings of uncertainty. Because adjustment is a normal process, a natural part of life, a consideration of adjustment need not be primarily focused on qualities and symptoms of maladjustment. As Professor John E. Anderson expresses it:

No one is perfect; no one can meet all the stresses and strains of a complex society on the moment, with precisely adapted behavior; no person is a machine that always comes out with the right answer. Instead, the person is a complex organism of many tension systems; he maintains a balance or equilibrium in the face of constant environmental demands

[1] Walter Millis, *Road to War*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935, pp. 47–48.

by the best behavior he can muster. He makes errors but can adjust to his own errors; he goes off balance but comes back; he has his bad moments but good ones come; he suffers and balks at times but keeps on going; in fact, by and large, in the face of all his critics, he goes on to do his job. And no matter how long he lives or how grown up he may be, he will always have some immaturities and some inadequacies. It is far easier to classify his failures and to describe his modes of maladjusting . . . than to describe his successes and to define adequate adjustment.[2]

In practically all public schools every year every teacher must adjust to a new group of pupils, to new parents, to new fellow teachers. These are part of the normal process of teaching school. Each new situation, in some measure, is a threat to the security of the teacher. To each new situation he must make an adjustment.

Steps in the Adjustment Process

From our brief review of some illustrative adjustments and our observation that the adjustment process is a normal part of daily living, can we make any conclusions about what is involved in the process of adjusting? What are the general psychological steps common to the adjustments made in the typical situations described?

We are aware that what actually happens within an organism during the adjustment process cannot be seen, perhaps not even accurately imagined. However, since we have all had experience in adjusting and observing others make adjustments, we have a basis for believing that something approximately like the following five steps takes place. The description is, for purposes of clarity, greatly simplified. It will serve as a background for interpreting and understanding some angles of the adjustment problems of an educational personnel.

MOTIVATION. Each of us, at all times, tends toward some type of action, some kind of behavior. With the educated person the tendency is, presumably, for intelligent, purposeful

[2] John E. Anderson, *The Psychology of Development and Personal Adjustment,* New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1949, p. 411.

action. The principal with the car which would not start was moving in the direction of the hotel. The divided school personnel was acting for better working conditions in the light of their ideas about what are better conditions. The school superintendent was planning to continue his duties in his community. Laski and Wells were motivated by a desire for an improved world order. Adjustment begins then with motivation.

FRUSTRATION. The interposition of a block to achieving what we are motivated to achieve, or a control or an interference by some person, persons, or circumstances constitutes the second step in the adjustment process. The interposition of authority may be a block to action. The child with an urge to run around the room may discover that someone with authority will not allow him to do so, and as a result of the restraint, he has a feeling of frustration, of tension, and of discomfort.

Behavior of members of educational organizations proceeds in a web of restraints, and life in school calls for a large measure of individual adjustment. Administrative policy, school board rules, state laws, certain certification practices, all operate as restraints. Although theoretically the trend in school government has been to minimize external controls and to emphasize self-directed activity, the growth of organizations, of state and local controls, and of voluntary accrediting bodies indicate that the actual present-day tendency is greatly to multiply and increase controls in education. The trend to increase restraints will in all probability continue, and each new restraint will operate as one additional potential frustration. Numerous frustrations are an unavoidable element in teaching school, and an ability to make satisfactory adjustments is a necessity for the maintenance of wholesome personal relations.

EXPERIENCING TENSION. The third step, or stage, in the adjusting process is the experiencing by the individual of a tension of greater or less magnitude. Anderson appropriately refers to this as a tension system, "an energy center with some degree of organization."

Tension growing out of frustration is manifest in a strong urge or

drive to act. For this urge or drive there must be an outlet or else the organism will not succeed in restoring its equilibrium. The entire working personnel is concerned both with the causes of frustration and with the manner in which each individual resolves the every-day tensions associated with the regular work of the school.

PLANNING AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE. Planning a response which is potentially adequate will initiate an action chain the aim of which is to relieve the feeling of discomfort. The army of energy is mobilized, some action is to follow. The schoolman who could not start his car had to plan a course of action. He could not proceed as he had begun. Tension mounted within him. But, first, before acting, he must plan a course of action.

DEFINITELY DIRECTED, EFFECTIVE ACTION. Wells, Laski, and the superintendent, in the light of what they believed, arrived promptly at a decision as to the best line of action. They were men who could direct their actions to meet new situations. They achieved a degree of adjustment and completed the process of adjustment when their final, definitely directed plan was effectively enacted. The immediate tension was resolved. The organism regained its equilibrium.

SEEING THINGS STRAIGHT

Whether the steps in the adjustment process are completed in a way which is satisfactory in terms of the mental health of the individual involved and also in terms of his relations with his associates depends somewhat upon his personality. His intelligence and his experience, for instance, influence his planning and selection of an adequate response, of the definitely directed action which is designed to resolve tension and restore equilibrium.

A personality factor which seems to be closely related to the social desirability of the way the adjustment process is completed is the ability to "see things straight." As William James said: ". . . the one thing that has *counted* so far in philosophy is that

a man should *see* things, see them straight in his own peculiar way, and be dissatisfied with any opposite way of seeing them." [3]

Perhaps seeing things straight, developing a personal point of view toward matters which concern them, establishing within themselves a frame of reference that facilitates making wise decisions which lead to wholesome adjustment should be a major goal of all people, and especially of each member of an educational personnel. How may those who are educated and who are educators best adjust to the many kinds of situations which confront them, to all manner of conditions under which they must work, and to the many kinds of persons for whom and with whom they must work? This is a very real question which every member of an educational personnel must squarely face.

We may feel that we see things straight, may believe in our own particular way of seeing things and have confidence in our conclusions and planned action. But when we work with others, we discover that they have their own, and perhaps different ways, of seeing things and looking at things. Sometimes their way is not just different but is diametrically opposite from ours. The difference may not only be in those we work *with* but may be in those we work *for*. Then it is we and not they who must do the adjusting. We must reach a settled state, reëquilibrate ourselves, achieve a reasonable degree of complacency in our lives, even when others insist that we do as they see it and that we do not do as we ourselves see it.

Most educators have constructed their guides to action out of a maze of precepts, precepts which have been acquired, *in a sense*, from all the nooks and crannies of human thought, the origins of which are generally unknown to them. Among these precepts, imbedded deep in the nervous systems of their carriers are many which are paradoxical in character and conflicting in effect. As a child the educator was, in all probability, taught obedience. Later he was told he must learn to think for himself, to develop an in-

[3] William James, *Pragmatism*, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1916, pp. 8–9.

SOME ADJUSTMENTS EDUCATORS MUST MAKE

Adjusting, as we have said, is a normal life process. How socially desirable an individual's adjustment to a particular situation is depends, in part, upon his basic philosophy. In terms of this philosophy he "sees things." If he has the ability to see things straight, the chances are that he will make a socially desirable adjustment. In the educational organization the personnel is called upon to adjust to a considerable number and variety of situations which arise specifically because of the character of the teaching profession. For instance, public school teachers are required to make certain special adjustments to meet community demands. When all groups and all professions face the need for extraordinary adjustments in times of national crises, the education profession faces, in addition, certain special requirements for adjustment.

To the Community

As an example of the special adjustments required of teachers in the public school, consider the situations teachers face because of community demands.[4] Frequently these situations require a kind of personal adjustment which is special and different.

There is considerable evidence to show that teachers are considered the most valued servants of the community. Actually, then, that the public does not wish educators to be like the body politic, is a manifestation of the high regard that the public has for the teaching profession. Such esteem is inevitably accompanied by a strong desire that the educational personnel live up to standards the community believes desirable—not the standards the community considers desirable for the citizens generally, but standards which the community feels should prevail among the educational personnel, usually somewhat extra, beyond, and different. Sometimes these standards lead to restrictions on the teachers and ad-

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[4] For an extended discussion of the public school teacher's role in the community, see Wilbur B. Brookover, *A Sociology of Education*, New York: American Book Company, 1955, pp. 237–253.

telligent but questioning attitude toward all things. As a child, to return to an example used earlier, he was instructed to memorize as true, and hence not to be questioned, such phrases as: all men are created free; all men are created equal; these truths we hold to be self-evident. He learned that great men will die for a principle. Then he learned in his study of educational philosophy that a principle is a generalization which serves to guide man's actions, something to serve as an instrument in sound thinking, something to use in solving problems, something to live by, not to die for. During his earlier professional training he was taught to look upon the "Seven Cardinal Principles of Education" as infallible guides to better education. Later the "Ten Imperative Needs of Youth" became the favored guides. He may have discovered later that many educators consider that objectives stated in the form in which these objectives are stated are atomistic, static, conflicting, lacking in unity, and as principles, inapt guides for thought. The manner of statement is wholly rejected by many educators. Then the individual asks himself, "Who sees things straight?"

The educator must, in the face of many disagreements with his associates and paradoxes in man's conceptions about best guides to human relations, develop within himself a point of view which possesses characteristics such as were discussed in Chapter 4 and which, in substance, will be *his* point of view, consistent, dependable, logical, and intelligent, one which will aid him in "seeing things straight" and one which will serve as a guide when he meets a challenging adjustment problem.

Seeing things straight is the important preliminary step in achieving the settled state. Educators are confronted daily with many kinds of educational situations which call for practical application of their basic ways of seeing things. Seeing things straight, successfully solving specific problems, builds confidence. This is significant because confidence is fundamental to emotional maturity necessary for satisfactory personal adjustment, including adjustment within the group.

power of a school superintendent or other members of the educational personnel to change materially some of the social factors in the community which add to the adjustment problems of teachers. The personnel can, however, work closely with those *organizations* which are favorable to improving community welfare and which are in a position to promote conditions favorable to wholesome teacher adjustment. Educators, of course, must see that such groups are informed about pertinent school problems and are granted an opportunity to participate in their solution.

The anti-public-school organizations, so common to some communities, are often adequately supported, highly organized, and receive disproportionate newspaper publicity for their unfavorable criticisms and unreasonable restrictions on the school. They cannot be ignored. However, even the groups opposed to what seems to be school welfare are not completely negative in their effects. They tend to promote cohesiveness within the staff, to arouse citizens to school needs, and to cause the personnel of educational organizations to present their claims to their publics in accurate and convincing terms.

The community through its traditions, mores, and organized group action is a very direct and potent influence on conditions which are directly related to staff relations and personnel problems, problems which call for adjustment and which are characteristically faced by educators.

To the Predominance of Women

Another illustrative group of adjustment problems peculiar to educators is associated with the fact that, at the elementary level, and somewhat at the secondary level, the profession is predominantly a woman's field. Of course, the predominance of men at the university level makes women employed at that level a minority group and demands of them the adjustments required of any minority group. For our purposes, however, we turn our attention to the elementary field, which is dominated by women, where we

ministrators in such matters, for instance, as smoking, dancing, card playing, taking an occasional cocktail, and participating in partisan politics.

An educator may believe that the restrictions are unreasonable and repressive. However, since behavior norms in a community are usually so deeply established that a school staff can hope to do little toward changing them, each member of the educational personnel should know, before joining a staff, the standards of the community. To conform to community standards seems to be the only satisfactory adjustment. To deviate markedly from community standards will tend to separate the educator from the community, lessen his feeling of belongingness, and if the deviations are known, incur dislike and perhaps undermine his influence and lessen his effectiveness in the community. In order to avoid poignant adjustment problems and to promote wholesome human relations within the broad school group, the school superintendent or college president must be responsible for acquainting prospective faculty members with community standards even though he may thereby lose desirable educational talent.

Although most communities recognize the fact that minimum faculty turnover and staff stability are essential to effective education, it is not as generally recognized that staff permanence is influenced by community attitudes toward factors which contribute to personal adjustment problems. Some of the forces in the community which determine the standards and influence the modes of thought of the citizens toward education and educational personnel come from powerful, highly organized, adequately financed, community-wide agencies which exert their influence through the church, the press, the radio, and other media commonly used by organized groups.

Experienced public school superintendents usually can evaluate such community forces, and sometimes can determine which can be depended upon to promote community, and especially school, welfare, which have little or no interest in education and which, by the record, are unfavorable to good school life. It is beyond the

teacher retention: retirement, tenure, leaves of absence on pay, sick leaves, reasonable vacations, salary increments, privilege to marry without losing tenure, reasonable housing, and the like.

To National Crises

Another illustrative group of special adjustment problems faced by educators are those which arise in times of national crises. Personnel problems in public education and personal adjustment problems become more acute during periods of national crises when the defects of normal times are greatly emphasized. At the same time when war economy adds to the employment opportunities for men and women and when government and industry offer employable teachers attractive external inducements which cannot be matched in education, *a precipitate rise in birth rate creates an urgent need for many more teachers.* This inevitably facilitates entrance into the teaching profession of the immature and less capable. These add to the problems of personal adjustment. Depressions operate in the reverse direction, but they too add to adjustment problems. The precipitate decline in birth rate characteristic of depressions results in an imbalance in the enrollment of the earlier and later grades and a shift in demand for teachers—a shift which is in evidence for sixteen or eighteen years. The problems heaped upon a college president, upon a superintendent of public schools, and upon a stable staff by such aberrations in trends are manifold but perhaps none is greater than those connected with the problems of adjustment which all are required to make.

THE WHOLENESS PRINCIPLE AND INDIVIDUAL ADJUSTMENT IN THE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

In our selection of illustrative situations which require special adjustments by educators we have chosen those which are community or national situations. Many of the special adjustments

discover that many adjustment problems are related to rapid personnel turnover.

It is partly because the teaching profession, at the elementary level, is predominantly a woman's field that turnover among the personnel is higher than in most other professions. Earlier studies showed that 75 percent of the women who entered teaching following college graduation subsequently left the profession. Many women look upon teaching as a stopgap to marriage, or to raising a family, or to some other employment. Although the majority of women teachers possess a high degree of emotional and intellectual maturity, because of the scarcity of teachers, superintendents have often been forced to employ relatively immature women, or to turn to the widowed and divorced as a source of supply. The latter may be mature and experienced, but frequently they have defaulted in advancing professionally. They sometimes face personal adjustment problems of a very acute nature because of having to reorganize their own personal way of life.

The man employed in the elementary school has a unique problem of adjustment. He is self-consciously a member of a small minority, and he therefore faces special problems of adjusting to the staff, to the community, and to the profession. Unless something is done to improve his status he will tend to be dissatisfied with his present adjustments and will desire to move out of the elementary school even though he may be an effective teacher.[5]

Frequent turnover in the profession at the elementary level confronts the administrator with the recurring problem of assimilating new teachers into the broad school group and of helping them to adjust to new situations. Although some of the change is inevitable, and some of it results because women tend to remain a shorter time in the profession, some of it could be avoided by encouraging more men to go into elementary school teaching and by instituting community educational policies designed specifically to promote

[5] Robert Bell, a Chicago elementary school principal, studied the adjustment problems of one hundred elementary school men teachers. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Graduate School, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1956.

kind of actual, and probably unintentional separation oftentimes contributes to frustrations and difficulties which call for considerable personal adjustment on the part of many of the personnel.

The following example illustrates an administrative act, conceived to promote good teaching but planned without sufficient regard for its total effect on the teacher involved. Some years ago, by special invitation, I visited a highly skilled teacher in his classroom in an excellent suburban high school. I was conducted to his room and introduced to him by the superintendent. When the teacher shook hands with me I noticed that his hands were bathed in the clammy sweat one usually associates with anxiety and emotional tension. He taught the class superbly. I availed myself of his invitation to confer with him subsequently. He was unusually self-composed and delightfully frank and penetrating in conversation. Toward the close of the interview I asked if he would mind telling me why he became so tense when I was introduced to him. "I never realized that I was tense," he said. Then he thought for a moment and added, somewhat impulsively, "Oh! I remember now. I became tense when I saw the superintendent coming with you."

Later I learned that the superintendent had given this teacher the highest merit rating that could be assigned. The teacher knew that the superintendent had confidence in him. The superintendent, who was not aware of the teacher's anxieties, did not realize that the rigid inspection which had preceded the rating had increased the teacher's anxieties to a point that led him to react toward the superintendent in an irrational but uncontrollable manner. In time even the sight of the superintendent stimulated a disorganized response. The superintendent had acted conscientiously to contribute to the social and financial well-being of the teacher but as he did so he unknowingly also strengthened within the teacher an already formulated fear of insecurity, a dislike for being in a position where status is dependent upon the good will of a single individual. Such an emotional state certainly restricted the teacher's contributions in faculty meetings, parent-teacher meetings, and small group meetings where the superintendent was present. It

required of teachers which result from situations within the educational organization itself, oftentimes within the individual classroom, are, however, related to current administrative and teaching practices.

Contemporary psychological understandings lead to the modern educational emphasis on the whole person. Educational practice is appraised in terms of its total effects on the whole person. Learning is conceived in terms of the whole person, and therefore emphasizes, in addition to knowledges, the importance to learning of what, for lack of better understanding, are spoken of as emotions, social adjustment, intellect, motives, attitudes, and the like, and insists that these be viewed as various aspects of a unitary process. True learning it is contended involves all these aspects.

Perhaps it is misleading to label this thought "modern." The following is a quotation from a physiology textbook copyrighted in 1891, and used in the rural grade schools of Indiana as an adopted text: ". . . and, further, that the very complex body is, in all its parts, so interrelated and coordinated as to be able to manage the complex activities of the body seen as a whole by analyzing its processes and distributing them among its parts, and thus accomplishing most perfectly the whole of its purpose." [6]

An Administrator's Action

It is now generally accepted that learning must involve the whole self. Attitudes are learned with algebra. Social adjustment is learned in the chemistry class. No man is separable into parts. However, it is one thing to believe in the interrelatedness of parts in the human organism and another to administer a school in such a way that the interrelatedness is fully recognized. Unfortunately, the school is often organized and administered as though outcomes were isolable units, in a way which separates emotions and intellect, attitudes and subject matter, learning and interest, mind and body, mental health and physical health, truth and goodness, and so on. This

[6] Oliver P. Jenkins, *Advanced Lessons in Human Physiology*, Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana School Book Company, 1891, pp. 3–4.

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constituted a barrier to the achievement of profitable administrator-teacher relationships.

We have advanced beyond hiring and firing as a personnel policy without thought of the effects of a single dismissal upon personal relations among members of an educational personnel, but we are still prone to overlook the importance of planning even unspectacular organizational acts in terms of all the possible effects on the complete adjustments and achievements of all personnel. The following quotation of a statement made in connection with a careful research illustrates the many and varied kinds of adjustment situations found in every educational organization.

> The general administration of a school system often involves factors that seriously affect teachers as people. Uncertainty of tenure, hyper-critical or domineering supervisors or administrators, low salaries, unattractive classrooms, inadequate equipment and supplies, inability to provide for retirement, humiliating conditions in contracts, petty personal restrictions imposed by provincial communities, continual increase in the size of classes and the demands of new curricular practices for which teachers do not feel adequate, all these and many other factors in the situation make for personality disturbances and ineffective education.[7]

Organizing

In the way a school is organized the wholeness principle is also sometimes apparently disregarded, and here too, teacher adjustment problems may be involved. For example, consider the elementary school which is organized for music, art, library, crafts, dramatics, and the like, as described in the discussion of functional-hierarchical coördination. In this school resources like the library and the shop and the stage are service centers for the teacher of any age group, for the teacher who shares in all the experiences of his pupils, who is the *one* who serves as coördinator in *all* they do. Such an elementary school is organized in a manner consistent with the principle of wholeness. On the other hand, when a school is organized so that the teacher sends his pupils to the shop or the

[7] Arthur Gould, "The Mental and Physical Health of Teachers," *School and Society*, May 31, 1941, p. 711.

library or some other center to receive special instruction apart from him, there is a dividedness and compartmentalization in the school experiences of the child, in teacher-child and teacher-teacher relationships. Organizations like the platoon system and the Lancastrian system, conceived to decrease financial cost of instruction, were educational failures partly because of their flagrant weaknesses in disregarding the principle of interrelatedness and coördination in the education of the human organism. Disregard of the principle of interrelatedness and coördination fosters potential adjustment problems!

Grouping children within a single age-grade classroom unit, in terms of ability, is an example of organizing that overlooks the principle of wholeness. Emphasizing something like reading ability to the extent that the child's educational location is determined in terms of this single criterion, and ignoring other factors of his development such as social age, neglects to provide for potential social cleavage and for the possible negative effects on children's attitudes and children's wishes. If, however, the elementary school is administered so that the teacher is the coördinator for all the learning activities of his group, then the classroom is the unit and everything is done to maintain the group as a social unit of which the student is a part, as in his family. In this kind of organization both teacher and pupil find rightful places and reading is learned, arithmetic is learned, science is learned—but not at the expense of natural and wholesome attitudes, satisfactory personal adjustment, and desirable personal relations which, after all, must also be learned. The practicality of recognizing the wholeness principle in educational organization is substantiated by studies which show that, even with concentrated emphasis through ability grouping devised to accelerate learning of an isolable skill, like reading, the method never has led to superior achievement even in the single skill concentrated upon.

A personnel which guides the organization of an elementary school into a divided pattern overlooks the fact that unity is essen-

tial to good child development, logical coördination basic to happy personnel relations, and that staff and pupil personal adjustment tend to be most satisfactory when staff and pupils are freed from unnecessary restraints, frustrations, and tensions. Success in minimizing situations which may contribute to adjustment problems depends partly upon the personnel's appreciation of the wholeness principle and upon its willingness to think of organization in terms of the principle.

PHILOSOPHICAL DISCREPANCIES AMONG THE PERSONNEL

In discussing the adjustment process we considered the importance of "seeing things straight," of having a logical and practical philosophy to use as a guide to help in understanding our problems and in selecting a solution to problems. An educational situation which involves individuals who have differences in their points of view, who see things differently, and who are in conflict because of philosophical differences, presents the most difficult of adjustment problems.

Discrepancies in Teacher and Administrator Points of View

Unanimity cannot be expected. Adjusting differences, however, may be extremely hard to do if the differences in points of view exist between an administrator and a teacher. The conflicts are especially serious when they are caused by differences about organizational practice. Agreement and mutual respect are unlikely if the administrator's conviction, primarily an admirable quality, leads to positiveness and to administrative arbitrariness. Suppose a high school principal adheres strongly to the educational point of view expressed in the following: "The notion of educating a man to live in any particular time or place, to adjust him to any particular environment, is, therefore, foreign to a true conception of educa-

tion."[8] What would be his attitude toward achievement? School marks? The curriculum? Toward teachers of special subjects like civics which stress modern problems? Home economics which stresses modern living? Shopwork and business education which stress salable skills in a modern social environment?

Arbitrariness is not the exclusive characteristic of the traditionalist. Suppose a group of teachers adhere to a position on objectives of education which is quite the opposite of that held by the principal. Suppose the teachers hold to a philosophical position such as the one expressed in the following quotation: ". . . In most of the older discussions on curriculum making we find attention mainly centered, at least ultimately, on specific items of knowledge, skills, habits, and the like, that pupils should acquire. . . .

In this discussion this atomistic view of objectives . . . is totally and wholly rejected as thoroughly misleading and mischievous, being in fact the antithetical opposite of the best available conceptions both of the life process and of learning."[9] Suppose the teachers are as convinced that they are right as is the principal. May they find themselves in conflict with the principal who has no respect for this point of view? Will the principal and the teachers both face difficult adjustment problems?

Since authority, power, and social advantage are with the principal, the teachers who are in conflict with him may feel a pressure to compromise their ideals. They will become unhappy. The teachers may, on the other hand, adhere to their beliefs but be obsessed by fear of insecurity and develop a kind of apprehensiveness which leads to various forms of withdrawal or to a dissembling of their true feelings. The problem of what adjustments a teacher should be expected to make when he is inclined strongly to one educational viewpoint and is working with a principal who is strongly inclined to another, only a wise and fair-minded principal will handle justly despite his convictions.

[8] Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936, p. 66.
[9] William Heard Kilpatrick, *Remaking the Curriculum*, New York: Newson and Company, 1936, pp. 108–109.

In facing this kind of adjustment it must be remembered that to be challenging, a teacher must teach in harmony with his own convictions. If he is a high school teacher who believes that emphasis on competition is harmful to the normal child with an intelligence quotient of 95 or thereabouts, it will be very difficult for him to follow a strong administrative suggestion that subject marks be distributed in a way which invites unjust and invidious comparisons. If the teacher does compromise and follow the administrator's suggestion he will undoubtedly be uncomfortable and dissatisfied with his action. As a result of this kind of personal adjustment he will probably be less effective both in his relations with his pupils and with his associates.

An elementary school principal who thinks of a recitation for each day coming at a specific time and stressing the learning of definite subject matter will create an adjustment problem for teachers who are convinced that it is wise to plan the education of children in the light of their current interests, abilities, and needs. One group of high school pupils built an entire four-year curriculum around constructing community residences. Recently they completed a residence, the ninth in a series, for which they had several purchase offers of $25,000. In this case the entire curriculum of these pupils was coördinated by a single person and around a single project. The school served as a service center to the teacher and to the pupils. The teacher in this situation would have had great difficulty if he had had to adjust to a principal who expected educational procedures to follow traditional patterns.

The examples given are extreme to illustrate the point. Some degree of difference in points of view between teachers and administrators is likely to exist. How then may undesirable conflict and frustration be avoided? How may the necessary loyalties in an organization be preserved? We have said that a teacher or a professor must teach in harmony with his own convictions to be challenging. This is equally true at all levels of education and may mean that a school principal will need to permit and encourage an able and intelligent teacher to teach consistently with an educa-

tional viewpoint which he holds at a given time, even though this viewpoint is opposed to the viewpoint held by the principal. This is a difficult question and a serious one as well, and one that the person in authority should not always expect to decide without giving any thought whatsoever to the possible human relations effects of his actions.

Royce's Suggestion

In adjusting to a situation which involves discrepancies in fundamental points of view, Professor Royce suggests, in his lectures to teachers, that developing among members of the personnel a loyalty to their own individual beliefs offers most hope in furthering wholesome adjustments and in promoting desirable personnel relations. As Royce says:

Nor is the undertaking to further general cause of loyalty itself an unpractical undertaking—a vague philanthropy. On the contrary, of all the efforts that you can make on behalf of your fellow men, the effort to make them loyal to causes of their own is probably the most generally and widely practicable. . . . If you seek to deal out happiness to him by devices of your own, you find that he generally prefers to look for happiness in his own way. If you attempt to give him contentment, you come in conflict with his insatiable natural desires.

But if you undertake to make him loyal, there is indeed much that you can do . . . all of what common sense rightly regards as your ordinary duties to mankind may be viewed, and ought to be viewed as practically effective ways of helping on the cause of general loyalty. Thus you can speak the truth to your fellow, and can thereby help him to a better confidence in mankind. This confidence in mankind will aid him in turn to speak the truth himself. And in truth speaking there will be for him much real peace, for truth speaking is a form of loyalty and will aid him to be otherwise loyal to his own. Precisely so, there are as many other ways of helping him to be loyal as there are other such obvious and commonly recognized duties to be done in your ordinary and peaceful dealings with him.[10]

Although, in his philosophical viewpoint, Royce was an organ-

[10] Josiah Royce, *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. 153–154.

izational idealist, his suggestion for the resolution of problems due to differences in educational points of view seems sound and practical. The principal can encourage the teacher to develop a working philosophy and to live consistently with his personal point of view. This will minimize the use of official authority, coercion, pressure, and the like by supervisors, principals, superintendents, and other titular officers. It will stress, instead, shaping points of view, not so much through the influence afforded by position, prestige, and authority, but mainly through the power of knowledge, understandings, and enlightenment. Or, as Royce says, by speaking the truth to one's fellows, helping them to build greater confidence in those with whom they work and within themselves as well. The final testing will come when the philosophy is applied in actual teaching and in the quality of relations which exist among the members of the group.

The Pragmatists' Suggestions

Resolving problems resulting from discrepancies in fundamental points of view is treated by various other American thinkers. The American philosophers holding a social viewpoint, variously named, but which C. S. Peirce in 1878 chose to call "pragmatism," recommend a method not dissimilar to Royce's suggestion. James, who may be selected as representative of this group, in his talks to teachers, forcefully calls attention to the dangers of what he termed "our external and insensible point-of-view."

In my previous talk "On a Certain Blindness," I tried to make you feel how soaked and shot-through life is with values and meanings which we fail to realize because of our external and insensible point of view. The meanings are there for the others, but they are not there for us. There lies more than a mere interest of curious speculation in understanding this. It has the most tremendous practical importance. I wish I could convince you of it as I feel it myself. It is the basis of all our intolerance, social, religious and political. The forgetting of it lies at the root of every stupid and sanguinary mistake that rulers over subject-peoples make. The first thing to learn in intercourse with others is non-interference with

their own peculiar ways of being happy, provided those ways do not assume to interfere by violence with ours. No one has insight into all the ideals. No one should presume to judge them off hand. The pretension to dogmatize about them in each other is the root of most human injustices and cruelties, and the trait in human character most likely to make the angels weep.[11]

James holds as his own point of view that it is best for each of us to believe as true that which makes for good in our personal life unless such belief clashes with some other vital belief. ". . . In other words, the greatest enemy of any one of our truths may be the rest of our truths. Truths have once for all this desperate instinct of self-preservation and of desire to extinguish whatever contradicts them."[12]

The school supervisor's or the dean's ideas about what is good to do may not only conflict with the ideas of many of the teachers or professors, they may conflict with certain other of his own ideas. James' suggestion is that, where one idea conflicts with too many other ideas, one may have to surrender it, give it up, and proceed on some other principle. In other words, take what he speaks of as a moral holiday.

Resolving Problems Resulting from the Discrepancies

What are we going to do about resolving problems resulting from discrepancies in points of view when we turn our attention to promoting wholesome personnel relations? It seems well to be guided by the thinkers who point out that loyalty to one's own beliefs and ideals is not only important to personal adjustment; it *is* also desirable and possibly necessary for adjustment within the group and for contributing to the group. This means, then, that the supervisor or department head who is concerned with human *relations* will not insist upon conformity with his ideas about teaching. He will be willing to have the teachers or professors, as the case may be, adhere to a different belief. He will realize that, when a teacher or

[11] William James, *The Philosophy of William James*, New York: The Modern Library, p. 339.

[12] James, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

professor differs from him, it is impossible for the teacher or professor to conform to the ideas of one in a position of authority and still render his greatest potential educational service. The head of the department and the teacher can, however, communicate and interact and reach agreement in terms of a given situation and problem. They can avoid conscious struggle for dominance with its permanent and inevitable scars upon personnel relationships. Harmony is possible when each individual has mutual respect for the other. When compromise is necessary, it is compromise of action, and not compromise of ideals or beliefs. They agree and disagree at the same time. Communication is an essential factor—perhaps oral, face-to-face, two-party communication which permits free interaction, the result of which is mutual agreement as to what is right to do.

In the expert personnel member's ability to "see things straight" tolerance is an important ingredient, tolerance for the educational viewpoints of others. This is not just a mild willingness, but a strong desire to find and to use a method which will not cause him to be an agency of frustration to a fellow educator who, like himself, desires to direct educational practices so that they are consistent with cherished educational ideas and through which the realization of life's most precious satisfactions is possible.

HELPING THE MALADJUSTED

Many unnecessary frustrations and difficult school adjustment situations are avoided in an educational organization where personal growth has premium value and where promising educational points of view, even though at variance, receive genuine encouragement. Even in the best of organizations, however, all causes for serious frustration cannot be avoided. It is important to be alert to the very treacherous pitfall of deciding that everyone who is confronted with a difficult problem which seems to defy solution is a maladjusted individual. Each individual in the personnel must

assume responsibility, perhaps equal to that of any other member, for avoiding contributing to problems calling for extraordinary efforts of personal adjustment. This is a personnel problem, not a one-man problem.

Every member of the educational personnel, regardless of position, must be conscious that everyone will at times experience vicissitudes in school and out of school which demand thought and courage for desirable adjustment. One's life cannot be so compartmentalized that some serious frustration in the home or in the community will not penetrate the school. Serious frustrations emanating from without the school will call for adjustment within the school.

The Administrator's Responsibility

What is the school administrator's specific responsibility in this matter of personal adjustment among members of the staff? First of all, the school administrator must know enough about mental hygiene to realize fully the limitations and the opportunities open to the layman in the mental health area. This means that he will recognize, for instance, the disintegrating possibilities of many apparently insignificant but highly competitive educational practices such as having pupils and students strive zealously for honors in order to secure recognition and ego status. He will seek to prevent or correct organizational practices which lead unnecessarily either to pupil, student or personnel adjustment.

What happens when the administrator has more or less unmistakable indications that a member of the personnel is maladjusted? It is tempting but very unsound administrative policy to let the situation alone until something precipitate happens, until the "crack up" appears! Activities such as bullying pupils, withdrawing from the faculty group, exercising extreme aggressiveness, may give the administrator a clue to a serious adjustment problem and alert him to the necessity of helping a colleague and of protecting students and other members of the personnel.

Consider the overly dominating and aggressive teacher who typifies one type of maladjustment. He emphasizes errors when marking papers, singles out individuals for his sarcastic remarks, attempts to enhance his feeling of superiority by slyly reflecting upon his colleagues, the author of the text, or the quality of equipment furnished him. He appears to enjoy discovering a student in a predicament. He deals harshly with small misdemeanors in the classroom. He is exceedingly sensitive to remarks made to him about himself. He plays the game of favorites. Such a person can usually be identified as one who has a difficult and persistent personal problem of adjusting which, as of now, he has not succeeded in solving and as one who is in need of help. The administrator because of his position knows intimately of these happenings and has a responsibility to help.

In attempting to understand such undesirable endeavors at adjustment it should be remembered that the teacher himself is probably unaware of the nature of, or existence of, an adjustment problem. If the teacher has recognized the difficulty, he has probably never shared it with anyone. The problem is persistent and since he has not developed skill in solving it, the tension of unadjustment persists. His behavior toward students is intended, not consciously of course, to relieve his own tensions. It does somewhat, although temporarily, reduce them, so the responses are repeated again and again. Obviously, this method of reducing tensions, even as a temporary measure, is at best inadequate and the results are unsatisfactory even to the teacher himself. They actually prolong the life of the basic tension. The effects upon students who are under the authority of such an individual may be devastating. The students may, and often do, regress in achievement, develop emotional blockings, and otherwise increase their own adjustment problems. The responsibility of the administrator to act becomes mandatory.

The Administrator's Procedure

A school principal knows he will gain little in trying to help a maladjusted teacher by dealing with symptoms—telling the teacher

complaints against him, telling him not to scold and not to use her negative techniques. A definite procedure is needed.

In the first place, the principal will study the situation from all available angles and make as close observations as possible. If he has the least suspicion that mental illness is involved he will confer with an expert in that field before proceeding further. If, however, the degree of maladjustment is obviously that which holds promise of being amenable within the school's framework, the principal will utilize that established and dependable technique—the administrative interview.

A series of carefully planned interviews may add considerably to the principal's insight into the unadjusted teacher's problems and offer the best possible opportunity for the principal to help the teacher. The principal must have the teacher's respect and to have this the teacher must know that the principal is a friend, that his motive is to help. There should never be an interposition of another person between the principal and the individual he seeks to serve. Such a duty cannot be delegated. Normally, for instance, the problems of maladjustment must be dealt with by the principal of the school, if it be a public elementary school, who has everyday contact with the teacher and who finds it convenient to arrange communication with him.

Regardless of how well the principal knows the teacher, several interviews should be spent on what the psychiatrist terms "weakening the interviewee's resistance." The methods of the so-called plain, blunt principal are hopeless in this kind of interview. The principal who believes in being brutally frank with such individuals is grossly lacking in sympathy and understanding and is wholly ineffective. Even though the principal has had training in mental hygiene as it is to be practiced in present-day educational organization, he should, nevertheless, prepare himself for special interviews by reading a competent author on the subject. He should especially refresh himself with regard to the use of interview in problems of unsatisfactory adjustment.

A teacher may be helped to see that he is a factor in frustrating children. By giving the teacher help so that he improves his techniques and eliminates that which is unduly frustrating, the teacher will not only help children but his own adjustment will be improved and his personality enriched. It is not *just* for the children that the teacher disciplines himself on the negative side not to scold, not to be supercritical, not to resort to sarcasm, not to coerce severely or to use strong moral force, and on the positive side, to speak moderately and pleasantly, to be natural and relaxed, to plan carefully, to study the emotional as well as the intellectual needs of his pupils, to seek ways of assisting both pupils and parents.

The principal, through his interviews, must help the teacher to realize that satisfactory adjustment cannot be achieved by a simple resolve. He must help him to see that his acts result mainly from habitual modes of thinking and acting. A teacher may need help to recognize that he uses sarcasm and scolding as a mode of adjustment. It would be a rare teacher who would justify the use of these devices as legitimate means of promoting pupil growth. It might, however, be a shock to a teacher suddenly to learn that he had been, over a long period of time, seeking to adjust to his own personal situation at the sacrifice of good educational procedure. Through the interview, the teacher and the principal have the opportunity to work together to achieve the optimum adjustment of the teacher to his pupils, to other members of the staff, and to his life situation generally. It must be made clear that spurious adjustments never lead to permanent solution.

The principal may discover, during the interviews, that a teacher is handicapped in his adjustment by a feeling of inadequacy. His training and experience and even his achievements in the classroom may indicate that he actually is adequate, but a feeling of inadequacy may be personally as disintegrating as real inadequacy.

A candidate for a position as Director of Research in a large city school system ranked first on a competitive examination and was ranked first on all other items included in the evaluation of the candidates. The candidate, however, felt inadequate for the position

and declined it. Subsequently he was offered a university teaching position at a much lower salary. Again his feeling of inadequacy made it very difficult for him to decide to accept the position and he practically had what is equivalent to a nervous breakdown. The president of the university who offered the position, through a skilfully conducted interview, gained understanding of the situation. He became sure that the candidate was adequate and also realized that he needed sympathetic help to gain a feeling of adequacy. The candidate accepted the position and with the help of the president he gradually overcame the feeling of inadequacy, has made an excellent personal and professional adjustment, and has enriched the institution which employed him. An understanding university president with a desire to assist in one step of the young man's adjustment problem was the vital key to this fortunate solution.

If, during the interviews, an administrator discovers that a teacher or professor possesses what seems to him to be a badly disintegrated personality, is unable to see his problems clearly and to give a consistent and coherent account of his behavior, the administrator should seek expert outside help for a solution. If, on the other hand, the administrator discovers, as is most often the case, that the teacher or professor has power, ability, and desire to analyze and rectify the cause of his atypical behavior, he can be confident that with skilful direction, patient and careful follow-up with frequent interviews, permanent improvement will gradually be realized.

Through the experience of such interviews an administrator not only gains an understanding of the personal problems of an individual personnel member but he also learns the contribution made to satisfactory adjustment of all members by such factors as school organization, administrative practice, classroom procedures, and the like. The interview is not only a vehicle for helping the individual teacher. In this sense it also helps an administrator in his relations with the entire staff. He gains light on the possibilities

for minimizing needless frustration and avoiding maladjustment in those areas where he may use his influence.[13]

The Mentally Ill

If expert opinion reveals that a personnel member is ill to a point where his services should be dispensed with, the administrator has a very difficult problem. The member has tenure. He may not be turned out on the street without means of sustenance and yet the school children or college students must be protected. Fear growing out of a feeling of insecurity adds to the problem of the teacher who is already struggling ineffectively with a serious problem of adjustment. Studies show: ". . . Teachers mentally ill continue to teach, often years after their difficulties begin. They associate with other teachers continually, they annoy administrators, and, most serious of all, they are in daily contact with large groups of pupils whom they utterly fail to train in the direction of developing wholesome personalities. It is, in fact, in most places, very difficult to dismiss teachers on account of personal peculiarities and maladjustments."[14]

A state or local retirement system or pension which makes compulsory leaves of absence or retirement because of disability, temporary or permanent, by action of the Board of Trustees or Board of Education, possible at any age is strongly recommended policy for cases of serious maladjustment. Under such a plan a personnel member who is badly maladjusted can be either given a leave or retired by board action, with fair compensation, and until proof of satisfactory recovery can be established. A liberal temporary and permanent disability benefit clause should be included in every educational organization's retirement or pension system. This is now the case in some, but still far too few, of the state retirement systems for public school teachers. This enables an administrator

[13] For a discussion of the interview as a technique in achieving participation see Chapter 9.

[14] Arthur Gould, "The Mental and Physical Health of Teachers," *School and Society*, May 31, 1941, p. 709.

to proceed with direct measures without the handicap of concern with the problem of security. It enables the teacher or professor to take whatever time is needed to effect full recovery.

Of course, the school employing official has the responsibility for making a meticulous study of a candidate and his qualifications before allowing initial access to a classroom and to the direction of children or adults. Experience has shown that applications, pictures, letters of recommendation, and the like do not afford a basis for an accurate prediction of stability. Observing an individual in a teaching situation, interviewing those with whom he has worked and who know how he adjusts to his fellow workers and the exacting work of the classroom, or conferring with one who has supervised his teaching and has had close personal association with him, will give a more reliable basis for estimating a personnel member's adjustability. In judging the inexperienced candidate for a teaching position, interviews with the critic teacher, college supervisors, and professors should be included wherever feasible, and never omitted in a case where the matter of the candidate's stability is open to the slightest question.

A PERSONNEL RESPONSIBILITY

In our attempt to promote wholesome personnel relations within the educational organization we must strive to have a personnel comprised of individuals who make wholesome adjustments to school and life situations. The employing official faces a responsibility for introducing into the teaching situation only those individuals who seem to be able to make desirable adjustments. The administrator faces a responsibility for doing what he can to reduce the number and complexity of those school situations which seem to contribute to adjustment problems. Much more than ordinarily thought can be done along this line. He also has a responsibility for knowing the personnel well and for helping individuals among the personnel to achieve personal adjustment through means which

are socially and educationally desirable. He must have a practical knowledge of mental hygiene sufficient for giving guidance in helping the maladjusted and for knowing when to consult with and refer to experts in the mental health field.

The employing official and other administrative officers, however, do not assume the main responsibility for assisting in personal adjustment in the educational organization. The responsibility is definitely one which must be assumed by each and every member of the personnel. All have a responsibility for understanding the adjustment process, for appreciating the special adjustments which are required of those in educational situations. All must recognize that the "wholeness principle" applies as much to a faculty member's adjustments and to personnel relations as it does to the educative process seen in relation to children or students.

It is not enough for individuals in the personnel to be personally well adjusted to their own school and life situations. They must be sensitive to the adjustments required of all others who are members of the organization. The problem is every member's problem and contributing to a solution is every member's responsibility.

7

The Organizational Technique:
Observation

In seeking an answer to our question: "What can be done to improve personnel relations in the educational organization?" we have formulated some basic principles of organization with particular attention to that important phase of organizing, role interpretation. We have given attention specifically to the individual in the organization in terms of his attitudes and his personal adjustment as these are related to group relations. Now we focus directly upon certain administrative techniques in an effort to discover their part in the development of group morale in the educational organization. For our purposes we concentrate on the administrative techniques of observation, evaluation, and achieving participation because it seems that these techniques are most obviously and perhaps most significantly associated with the relations which exist among members of the educational personnel.

In our study of role interpretation it was pointed out that one criterion for identifying expertness in educational leadership at any level or in any situation or position, as contrasted with the inexpertness of the novice, is that the expert has developed a system of thought about human relations which possesses the following characteristics: it is his own, he is always engaged in the process of reorganizing and reconstructing it, it is indigenous to the social

soil in which he has lived, it serves him as an instrument for planning and not as an ever-ready source of solutions, it incorporates enough of abstractions, theories, and assumptions to have a desired degree of consistency and logicality, and it is sufficiently applicable to concrete situations and everyday educational realities to make it practicable. It is a philosophy which possesses a large measure of practicality and will function in many kinds of school situations. Further, the philosophy is never static. As it is applied, it is modified to meet the demands of a wide range of novel situations.

Of course, the administrator cannot stop with the formulation of a systematic philosophy or viewpoint. Success in the administration of a school depends quite as much upon the efficacy of the methods used in applying or implementing a system of thought in concrete situations as it does upon the philosophy upon which action is based. Techniques are the avenues for the application of the philosophy. Unless it is to exist only as a theory, a system of thought cannot function independently of a concrete situation. It is through the use of a method or a technique that the true worth of the philosophy is tested. A second criterion for identifying expertness in school administration by any member of the personnel thereby becomes apparent. That member of the personnel, regardless of what he administers, possesses expertness who is skilful in the use of methods and techniques appropriate to the effective implementation of his system of thought.

A member of the personnel in an educational organization may enunciate an attractive philosophy of school administration but his philosophy is of little value if he lacks skill in the execution of the techniques which make the philosophy work in a practical situation. The only one who can be said to possess expertness in promoting desirable human relations in an educational organization is the one who has a worthy philosophy and in addition possesses proficiency in the use of methods and details of procedure which enable him to translate his philosophy into reality. Without ability to transfer thought into action, the personnel member with a fine philosophy

f role interpretation would still be as ineffective and feel as frus-
rated as a man whose sphere of activity is limited to the clouds.

TWO MEANINGS OF "TECHNIQUE"

When we speak about organizational techniques to implement an
educational philosophy, when we establish the criterion for expert
leadership in terms of expertness in the skillful use of techniques
appropriate to the effective implementation of a system of thought,
we use the word "technique" with a distinct meaning in mind. In-
asmuch as technique has been used in school administration litera-
ture with two meanings, it is important, before proceeding with our
study of the influence of the administrative technique, observation,
on personnel relations, to understand the meaning of the term we
have in mind as we use it in the following discussion.

Technique in the Mechanical Sense

In some educational literature technique is discussed as a collec-
tion of details of procedure. It is not considered as something re-
lated to or associated with the broad, general ends to be achieved.
It is thought of as something apart from the broad purposes of the
group and apart from the application in a concrete school situation.
The interpretation of technique in this sense, then, is not concerned
with the personnel relations effects of the specific application of
the technique. A technique of guidance, or of curriculum adminis-
tration, or of classroom supervision or of classroom management, in
this kind of interpretation, exists as something to be considered
apart from wider principles and from the concrete situations to
which it is applied.

This is the mechanical interpretation of technique which is pop-
ular in some of the school administration textbooks dealing with
such techniques and devices as: how to construct the educational
profile of a pupil from test scores, how to score a school, how to
how to keep track of requisitions, how to organize a school, how to

build a curriculum, and so on. It includes no consideration of the various theories which underlie the appropriate uses of the techniques and it provides no analysis of the effects of different kinds of uses of the same technique.

Interpreting technique in this limited, mechanical sense omits the question of relative value. It treats a technique as something based upon a principle but *it does not recognize that this principle actually can be judged only in terms of a wider and more inclusive principle*. A technique may be based upon the principle of objectivity. Objectivity is a legitimate principle to guide the selection of items to be observed. The fact that the desirability of using objectivity as a criterion can be accurately judged only in terms of a wider principle is not recognized. In the mechanical sense all techniques tend to be completely compartmentalized, and therefore, in this narrow, although legitimate sense, the techniques of administration are different from the techniques of supervision and from the techniques of business management.

As Technique Principle

In our use of the term technique we go beyond the mechanical concept. In our discussion technique is observed and considered in terms of underlying rules and principles which are generally true for an administrative technique, regardless of who uses it. This may be called the "principle" interpretation of technique.

Technique, in this broader sense, is associated with the ends which a technique should seek to realize and with the general, wider human relations effects of its use. Whatever principle is said to underlie its use is considered and appraised, not independently of everything else, but as an aspect or element in a wider and more inclusive system of thought. It emphasizes the importance of giving appropriate weight to three aspects of the problem of selecting the right techniques: ethical considerations which determine the selection of techniques and guide in the manner of their fulfillment; the details of procedure; and observation of the total, overall effects of the completed act.

Consideration of technique in terms of technique principle differs from a treatment of technique in the mechanical sense in two principal ways. First, it requires that we think of technique in terms of the reason for its use. The technique is, to all intents and purposes, simply nonexistent unless it is seen in relation to the reason for its employment. We may compare two guns and conclude that one is superior to the other. However, two teaching or administrative techniques, conceived in the broad sense of technique principle, cannot be so compared. The ethics, the propriety involved in the use of the technique must receive foremost consideration. Ethics and propriety, as discussed in the previous chapter, cannot be determined solely in terms of characteristics which can be mechanically measured and objectively observed. A technique inferior from a mechanical standpoint may be superior for use in a particular situation because of ethical factors peculiar to that situation.

A second characteristic of the technique principle is that the technique is evaluated in terms of its potential effects. Attention is directed away from the mechanics of the technique toward its widespread effects. In this sense, the use of a technique is not a mere incident like driving a nail into a board. For example, a principal selects a rating scheme to use in rating a teacher. He rates the teacher. The rating technique in this case is accomplished through a mechanical device and it may be that completing the rating concludes the technique incident. If, however, the principal adheres to the technique principle, when he selects the rating device or utilizes the rating technique, he will be conscious of the fact that the use of a technique is an expression of his philosophy. If his philosophy emphasizes the value of mutuality in his social intercourse with his colleagues, then the potential effect of the use of the rating device or of any other technique on his social relationships will be given careful consideration and will influence his selection and his decision concerning the utilization of the technique. In this case the principal selects a device or rejects or accepts a technique in terms of the wide effects of its use. He is especially influenced by a consideration of the reconstruction which inevitably results in the rela-

tionship between him, the principal, and the individuals who are affected by the use of the technique.

In this chapter and also in the chapter devoted to the discussion of the administrative technique of evaluation and the chapter devoted to study of the administrative technique of achieving participation, the term technique is used with this second and more inclusive interpretation in mind. Observation, evaluation, and achieving participation are analyzed in terms of technique principle. It is assumed that, in making use of an administrative technique of any kind, the personnel member using the technique is expressing his philosophy of school administration, he is reconstructing a system of human relations, he is participating in something which is one incident in a chain of human events vitally related to what has gone on before and to what will immediately and eventually follow.

Techniques commonly used by teachers, professors, and administrators at all levels of education and classified under the broad, general headings of observation, evaluation, and achieving participation are selected for study partly because, when treated in terms of technique principle, certain generalizations which are true of these rather typical organizational techniques are in the main applicable to educational organization techniques in general. They are also selected because they seem to be closely related to our problem of personnel relations.

WHAT IS EDUCATIONAL OBSERVATION?

The first group of techniques to be examined in terms of their influence on personnel relations, and to be interpreted in the technique principle sense, is observation. What is observation in this sense? As educational organization operates, observation is taking notice and seeing items in the educational situation which, to the observer, may be significant in terms of understanding and evaluating the educative process. This observation may pertain to the

administrative function of any member of the personnel. Every educator makes frequent administrative use of it.

Back of every observation, interpreted in educational terms, lies some educational assumption. Every item of knowledge gained through observation is therefore only partly observational in character. It includes, in addition, an element of the theoretical, an acceptance of a basic assumption. As discussed in an example given later, when an administrator in a public school uses a device like the Morrisonian device for observing classroom control he is expected to take for granted that learning takes place according to the assumptions about learning which Morrison made. The attention being observed is not attention as some psychologists other than Morrison might interpret it, but attention according to Morrison's interpretation. The same holds true for any form of educational observation. Some theory is basic to the observation and clearly that theory should be as defensible as the present state of knowledge about education permits.

If a high school principal is observing the teaching of a class in English, what he observes and how he interprets what he observes will depend more or less on the degree of his acceptance or rejection of the so-called "new critics" in the field of English education and his acceptance or rejection of the traditionalists who stress literary analysis. A class in poetry taught through creative writing will be different from one taught by analyzing "The Lady of the Lake." The meaning read into the observation depends upon the principal's theoretical views about what constitutes good high school English teaching.[1]

In the school situation, observation to be worth while must be preceded by conscious recognition of the educational theories which determine its direction and interpretation. An observer of teaching in the elementary school must have an understanding of the teacher's educational assumptions which form the basis for the

[1] To get some feeling of the basic differences among college professors of English who educate our teachers see: Sheridan W. Baker, "Are You Communicating?" *Bulletin American Association of University Professors,* Washington, D.C., Autumn, 1954, pp. 432–437.

procedure the teacher follows in the classroom in order to make an accurate interpretation of the observation of the teacher's procedure. The teacher must base his teaching upon that which he believes and the observer must take this into account in interpreting what is observed. The weight, significance, and interpretation which the teacher and the observer give to such items as: Are the pupils friendly to one another? Toward their teachers? Toward the school? Do the pupils possess initiative? Do they work well without constant supervision? Do they volunteer to be group leaders? Do they have good work habits? Are they prompt, accurate, and thorough?—are determined by assumptions about the weight and significance of these factors in terms of basic assumptions which the teacher holds and also basic assumptions which the observer holds about what the elementary school should try to accomplish.

SOME CONDITIONS WHICH MODIFY EDUCATIONAL OBSERVATION

Educational assumptions have a strong influence on educational observation and the interpretation of observation. In addition, the character of observation itself, as an organizational technique, is modified somewhat by conditions which are peculiar to a field like education. In everyday school situations conditions and circumstances are highly variable. Although a teacher, a professor, or a school principal may, under carefully controlled conditions, observe precisely, it is only in cases where conditions are carefully and unnaturally controlled, usually for purposes of educational experimentation and the systematic collection of pertinent and significant data, that the results of educational observation in and of themselves can serve what Sir Arthur Eddington, in speaking of observation in the scientific sense, called "man's court of final appeal."

Subjectivity

One of the conditions which modifies observation in education is the fact that observation in the everyday school situation is necessarily subjective. It is the observer who is the most potent factor in

the observation. The observation depends largely on his personality and his educational insights, insights which he has acquired through training and experience. It is like Huck Finn's reasoning following his observation: "Tom says he bet Jim is in that cabin down by the soap kettle, because he saw a servant go in there with some vittles. I thought it was for a dog. But Tom said part of it was watermelon. Well, it does beat all that I never thought about a dog not eating watermelon. It shows how a body can see and not see at the same time."[2]

What the observer elects to observe, the generalizations he makes, the conclusions he draws, the actions he proposes are all conditioned, or colored, subjectively. He may, of course, obtain help from educational literature a body of loosely organized, highly fragmented knowledge, about such matters as methods of teaching or child development. He may, if he desires, turn to technical sources for assistance in interpreting his observations just as a lawyer or doctor may turn to legal or medical treatises. However, the meaning, the interpretation of what is observed, is necessarily unfolded in the light of what the observer knows and feels, what he has seen and experienced.

What does "observation" mean when a principal observes a teacher teach? When a teacher observes a group of children play? When the guidance director studies the educational profile of a given pupil? When the university president observes the progress of a committee project? Clearly, what is observed, and the use that is made of what is observed, depend upon the intentions, the sagacity, the ingenuity, and the intellectual make-up of the observer. Educational observation has to be subjective in normal school situations. This is one constant limitation to observation as a technique in those aspects of the education field where personnel is involved.

Specialization

Since what is observed and how it is interpreted is determined

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[2] Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, Adapted by Verne B. Browne, Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Company, 1951, p. 240.

by the accumulated background of the observer, it is clear that the observer's training and experience in his specialization are potent factors in the situation. School administrators are specialists in school administration, so when school administrators observe, the observations are necessarily colored by this specialism. Since a teacher or a professor also is a specialist, administrative observation of his work is usually observation by one kind of specialist observing the work of another kind of specialist. Specialization develops within one a distinctive psychological characteristic, so persons of one kind of psychological characteristic are observing persons who possess another kind of psychological characteristic.

In observation of the work of any staff the results must be interpreted with adequate recognition of the fact that all educational observation involving personnel tends not only to be subjective but that differences in viewpoints resulting from specialization are also usually complicating elements in the picture.

Unobservables

Educational observation involving personnel is further modified by the fact that since education is a process of assisting children, youth, or adults to grow, education involves many factors which actually cannot be observed. Intellectual, emotional, and spiritual maturity, the evidence of educational growth, is not readily observed, measured, or evaluated. Wholesome group relations, one evidence of successful group activity and proficient leadership, likewise are not readily observed, measured, or evaluated.

One may not observe the effect of a high school teacher's presentation of Wordsworth's "Michael" upon the attitudes of a pupil. Certainly, over a period one may conclude from observing a pupil's behavior that certain changes in attitude have resulted from his participation in school and in out-of-school activities. An observer, however, cannot determine what is responsible for these changes. Observation cannot reveal the specific contributions of various experiences to growth.

Inasmuch as observation is limited to that which is visually

apparent, there is ever present the temptation to make observation, because it is limited to externals, cursory and superficial. The educational observer is always in danger of reading unwarranted meanings into and drawing indefensible implications from his observations because much of what actually exists in every educational situation, including personnel situations, is unobservable.

Uniqueness

Since classroom and other school situations can never be reproduced, educational observation is limited in that each observation must be made with full recognition of the uniqueness characteristic of the situation. An educational event occurs but once. One may observe a college teacher teaching a class which is studying the life and times of Robert Burns. One may observe a high school teacher participating in a parent-teacher meeting. Actually, neither situation is ever repeated. Inasmuch as no single situation can be completely representative, whatever use is made of the results of the observation of the college teacher teaching the class studying the life and times of Robert Burns must be made with the understanding that the situation is unique. Conclusions drawn from such an observation are therefore limited in their applicability to any other education situation which is also unique.

Responsibility

In the practical school situation the observer, the teacher, or the administrator, has a responsibility for the outcomes of the activities. For this reason his observation may be modified, curtailed perhaps, by the necessity for him to influence behavior in desirable directions or prevent an unfortunate sequence of events. The teacher observes a child striking another. The professor observes a student cheating on a final examination. The principal observes a teacher determinedly obstructing discussion and action on a committee report. The sequence of observations is often interrupted because in such cases one must act, one must decide what to do and do it.

The responsibility of the observer who is concerned with improving human relations legislates also that the observation will not terminate with immediate action. He may not consider the problem disposed of for all time. His immediate action probably actually is only temporary postponement of a more comprehensive observation. His responsibility is not just to see what happens and to act, but subsequently to study what happened and then carefully to frame a course of action which is likely to lead to constructive ends.

It is usually essential that a member of an educational personnel who is observing discharge his responsibility for educational progress even though he may thereby have to interrupt, or postpone his complete observation. Because he has a responsibility to act, he is frequently required to depend also upon the observations and conclusions of others. Such conclusions may be available in professional literature, committee reports, school surveys, and individual personal reports. It is important, however, that the personnel member not succumb to the temptation of allowing his responsibility for action to make him so dependent upon understandings and conclusions based on the observations of others that he excludes or minimizes the importance of personal, first-hand knowledges gained from his own direct observation. Interpretations of the observations of others, such as is set forth in educational literature, will always be more valuable if they supplement the interpretation of the staff member's direct observation, rather than replace it.

Personal and direct observation often will reveal that there is a need for additional indirect observation, for the observer to become better acquainted with the situation through indirect observation as given in committee reports, group surveys, and so forth. In this way direct observation, limited by the observer's responsibility for immediate action, may lead to a broader and probably more successful approach to the problem under observation. Responsibility for action serves to modify the character of educational observation but it serves also to make observation, both direct and indirect, a more important technique to use in educational organization, especially in attempting to promote wholesome personal relations.

OBSERVATIONAL DEVICES

Despite the fact that the administrative technique of observation is limited in the educational organization because it has to be subjective, that it usually involves one kind of specialist observing another kind of specialist, that many very important items are unobservable, that no two situations in education are ever the same and that the observer cannot always carry his observation to the ultimate point because he has a responsibility for action—despite all these limitations, observation is a very important administrative technique, and as we shall discover, can have a strong influence on group relations.

Since the value of observation as a contributor to man's knowledge has always been accepted, it is natural that man's inventive powers have been directed successfully to the development of devices to refine and otherwise improve observation. The development of civilization has been traced by historians, phase by phase, in relation to the development of various tools and devices—including devices for observation. There is no phase of life, and this includes education, in which devices have not exerted a profound, and at times almost dominating, influence. Professor Breasted says: "To no small extent the story of man's career is one of the conquest of material resources by means of highly varied devices, tools, implements, and machinery, if we include also with these the conisequences, social, political, artistic, and religious, which resulted from their introduction." [3]

Those concerned with the education of younger children have developed a wide range of devices designed to assist in observation of educational situations and procedures. In observing and reporting the behavior of pupils in the elementary school the educator, for example, has attempted to standardize an educational situation and then has utilized such devices as: inventories of movements (tics or stereotypes); attention recording; classifying and recording

[3] James Henry Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilization*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926, p. 5.

number and length of classroom activities; questionnaires about beliefs and opinions; interest inventories; recording play movements; recording conversations by tape; recording interviews; recording characteristics, accomplishments, personal behavior, social problems; interviews with child, child's parents, or child's playmates; making behavior journals; filming children's action in meeting a frustration or some other problem; observing and listing the developmental tasks which are performed during certain periods in the life of the individual.

Devices quite as numerous and as varied as those employed in observing pupil behavior in the elementary school have been used to observe teachers. A whole range of administrative devices, for instance, has been developed and used in the public school survey, in the observation of high school pupil-teacher activities and in the observation, by supervisors, of the classroom teacher. For good or for ill, college students and college professors have so far been spared subjection to the application of such devices. The manner of observing students and professors working at higher levels usually follows a more devious route.

Generous use of observational devices in public school administration has long been advocated by school administration theorists. The wide employment of an extensive array of data-gathering devices frequently found in an administrative division of a public school system attests to the confidence of the public school administrator in educational devices. So steady and so continuous has the device movement in educational administration been that perhaps few public school administrators have been conscious of the degree to which the practice has influenced the nature of personnel relations.

Numerous claims have been made for the use of observational devices by the educational personnel. Some of the claims seem valid. Some of the claims, on the other hand, can and should be seriously questioned in the light of technique-principle interpretation. Since the use of observational devices in educational organizations, with valid or with doubtful claims, is so vitally related to

building or destroying human relations in such organizations, it seems desirable to analyze some typical devices to get an understanding of devices and to make some conclusions about their use as far as personnel relations are concerned.

Three devices are selected: the Morrisonian observational devices, an activity-analysis device, and a check-list device. These are typical of observational devices used in public school administration below the college level in that they are supported by typical arguments and rest upon a typical educational philosophy. The justifications offered for their use are somewhat typical of those advanced for the use of most other observational devices in public school administration.

The analysis of three rather typical devices used in connection with administrative observation in the public school may be of interest in connection with instruction at the higher levels. It would seem that, if such devices are efficacious at lower levels of education eventually their use should be expected to spread to the higher levels.

In making the analysis it should be remembered that our interest in the three devices is not so much in the devices themselves as in the arguments about why such devices should be used and in whether their potential effects on personnel relations are desirable.

The Morrisonian Devices

The two Morrisonian devices to aid in educational observation were developed and carefully tested under experimental conditions in the laboratory schools of the University of Chicago by Henry Clinton Morrison, Professor of Public School Administration. They are for use in observing a single aspect of pupil reaction to teaching. An analysis of the devices and of their recommended uses shows that certain educational assumptions are basic to the construction of the devices and to their use. Generally, a simple process of counting plays an important part in their construction and in their utilization. Let us carefully note the stated assumptions on which the two devices are based. Morrison stated:

. . . one of the major obligations of the school is to train the pupils into the capacity of voluntary application to learning which is not in itself initially interesting . . . the remote initial motivation founded only on a sense of duty and voluntary application, in many cases but not all, becomes transformed into real, immediate, and sustaining motivation as the subject matter has opportunity to yield its inherent interest. . . . The fair presumption for teacher and pupil alike, however, is that the subject matter is . . . capable of eventually setting up its own motivation. . . .

The development in the pupil of the capacity for willing sustained application, founded only on the expectation that the subject matter will ultimately yield a sustaining interest, is therefore the foundation of any systematic technique of teaching and learning. It is the starting point of control technique.[4]

Thus Morrison states the assumptions upon which the construction of the observational device is based. He makes an educational assumption about learning and then adds that he believes "a situation arises in which it is necessary to secure and hold the attention of the group as a whole."[5] This he calls group attention. It follows, then, that the amount a pupil learns is proportional to the degree of so-called classroom control which is revealed in group and individual attention and that teaching can be accurately appraised if a device is used to register the amount of sustained attention in the classroom. For this purpose Morrison developed two devices, one for observing and measuring group control in a classroom and one for observing and measuring the sustained application of an individual pupil.

The device for observing and measuring individual application[6] consists of a chart, or figure, which provides the observer with a method of recording his observation of a child's application or distraction. The observer is not identified by the pupil as an observer. The observer notes the shifting nature of the pupil's behavior and makes a minute-by-minute record to the left or right of a vertical line on the chart.

[4] Henry C. Morrison, *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1926, pp. 105–106.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 135–150.

The device for observing and measuring group control [7] consists of a simple card on which is recorded the aggregate pupil minutes of attention in a given class period. The observer sits in front of the class and looks directly into the faces of the pupils. At the end of each minute he counts the number of pupils in attention, or he counts the pupils in attention during any interval of time desired. The scoring ultimately is so combined and recorded that the percentage of attention during any phase of the recitation, such as the assignment phase or the review phase, can be studied separately.

In brief outline, these are the Morrisonian devices. As we describe the other two devices we shall notice that certain characteristics are common to all three. As we proceed with the analysis of the three we shall look especially for indications of the effects of their use and the effects of the philosophy behind their use, on personnel relations in the educational group.

Activity Analysis Devices

Activity analysis devices are observational devices which differ from the Morrisonian devices more in the direction the observation is channeled than in the nature of the basic assumption. Like the Morrisonian devices, an activity analysis device is based on a like kind of educational assumption and a simple process of counting likewise is an important part of its application. It is also designed to select the definite items an observer will observe, items assumed to be vitally related to the quality of teaching or learning present in an educational situation.

The following description of an activity analysis device which we use as an example was prepared by special supervisors in a large city school system at the request of principals of the elementary schools who had been made responsible for the instructional conditions in their buildings and who "felt that they needed standards by which to judge the quality of instruction observed in their buildings, and needed special training in the evaluation of instructional

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 115–134.

practices." [8] The questions listed here are illustrative of the items toward which observation was directed. Note that they were prepared by a supervisor in domestic art and were to be used to direct the principal in his observation of the teaching of domestic art.

1. Has each girl her work?
2. Does each girl wear a thimble?
3. Does each girl take a good working position?
4. Do the girls use straight needles?
5. Are pins put in at right angles to the edge?
6. Is the thread well fastened at the beginning and end of the seam?
7. Is the work free from knots?
8. Are the rows of stitches or seams straight? [9]

The recommendations for use are based on the mechanical principle. The items were selected, according to the author, mainly because they are objective. They can be counted. The observation made by the administrator is therefore accurate. It is not difficult to record on a handy sheet of paper that twenty girls wore thimbles, that four did not.

The principals in different buildings, armed with the same device, observed and counted exactly the same items. That the matters were irrelevant or insignificant in terms of desired educational outcomes seemed unimportant. The possible effects of such an observational procedure upon the personal relations between principals and staff apparently received little consideration. The significance of what was being taught, the way in which an administrator might help, the effects of such a visit by an administrator upon the attitudes of pupils and teachers toward the administrator and toward the subject, seemed not to be important. The basic assumption was that objectivity, standardization, impersonalization, quantitative recording, study of isolable elements regardless of effects upon interrelationships, were the desired ends to be achieved through the observation.

The actual assumption back of the use of this device, even

[8] A. S. Barr, *An Introduction to the Scientific Study of Classroom Supervision,* New York: D. Appleton & Company, Inc., 1931, p. 201.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 392.

though it is not stated specifically by the author, is that the elementary school principals, untrained in the home arts field, but fortified with a device, can "supervise" the teaching of the domestic arts. They can, perhaps, not agree upon what the teachers, through domestic arts, should seek to accomplish. They can, however, agree upon certain facts. That the facts are not related to matters which are educationally important, that they are segmented from one another and isolated from aims or process is assumed to make no material difference. The matter of highest importance is that the items observed be of so definite a nature that they cause no disagreement among the principals. It was essential that the principals doing the observing have items which they could express as facts, to look for. These facts they can then record with a fair degree of objectivity. "We may . . . come to some agreement about the facts in the case. It is much easier to agree upon the facts . . . than upon their interpretation. . . . It was the purpose of the . . . 'item to observe' to objectify as far as possible the evaluation of teaching. . . ."[10]

Check Lists, Improvement Sheets

A third class of devices has flourished in various forms and has been used for many years for aiding the observation of school administrators. This is a group of devices variously called check lists, improvement sheets, scoring devices, rating devices, and the like. The intent in the use of many of the lists is to reduce the unreliability and subjective character of the observation. The following items, which may serve as an example, are extracted from a comprehensive improvement sheet designed for use by the principal of a high school when observing a class in geometry.[11] Similar improvement sheets are designed for each subject.

[10] A. S. Barr, William H. Burton, and Leo J. Brueckner, *Supervision*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938, pp. 393–394.
[11] Carl G. F. Franzen, "What Supervisory Practices Promote Teacher Growth and Cooperation," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals*, April, 1952, p. 21.

	Yes	No

Teacher Activity

Does the teacher require pupils to give authority for all statements made? ___ ___

Are unique and interesting historical facts about theories presented to the class? ___ ___

Does the teacher give sufficient practice in the applications of formulas to numerical problems? ___ ___

Is there a variety of proofs developed for exercise due to a variety in methods of attack? ___ ___

Pupil Activity

Are the drawings those of general figures? ___ ___

Do construction lines show clearly? ___ ___

Do pupils clearly differentiate between hypothesis and conclusion? ___ ___

Do pupils give authority for statements made? ___ ___

Do pupils use the geometric vocabulary intelligently? ___ ___

Do pupils suggest illustrations or everyday applications of the proofs or exercises in the lesson? ___ ___

Each item is stated as a question. Each can be answered by a "yes" or a "no." Says the author: "A complete checking of all the items would then produce a profile of the presence and absence of supposedly good teaching practices." [12] What are the assumptions underlying the construction and use of this device? "A perusal of any one improvement sheet will give the principal some idea as to what to expect in the way of desirable activities in the classroom to which it applies. . . . Instead of talking to them (the teachers) in general terms common to all teaching activities, he has something specific upon which to base his comments." [13]

Obviously, this device is but a variation of the other two described. Again the intent is to make the items definite and objective and to reduce observation to a matter of counting, a simple record of yes's or no's.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

The Place of a Device in Educational Observation

The three observational devices briefly described give us some understanding of the typical devices provided educators to assist them in their observations. In the light of our interest in wholesome personnel relations, what may we conclude about the desirability of using such observational devices in educational organization? Can they be used to strengthen and improve personnel relations? In terms of technique principle, when is the use of such a device to aid observation warranted? If an official expects to observe, how can he decide whether a device will sufficiently improve the quality of observation to merit its use? If the use of a device is indicated, how can the observer select the device to use?

Because all members of an educational personnel will usually be more or less directly associated with or affected by an observational device which an observer uses within the educational organization, it is recommended that the personnel be well acquainted with the whole wide range of observational devices and with the reasons which are given for their use. Above all the member being observed should be thoroughly acquainted with the specifics in the device along with the reasons as to why it is being used.

Before an observer uses a device he should consider each possible device independently and judge each in terms of criteria which he believes to be educationally acceptable. The following are suggestive of the kinds of questions an observer, working at any level of education, will ask before deciding whether to use a particular device to aid in his observing.

ARE THE ASSUMPTIONS BASIC TO THE FORMULATION OF THE DEVICE ACCEPTABLE? Before deciding whether to use an observational device the one who expects to use it must have a thorough understanding of the device. Understanding the device involves a complete comprehension of all the author's educational assumptions and an evaluation of these assumptions in the light of the user's educational philosophy.

In using the Morrisonian devices, for instance, an educational supervisor of instruction would need to know Morrison's interpre-

tation of the meaning of attention, his conception of the place of attention in the educative process, his bases for selection of item to observe to obtain information about attention, and finally, th assumptions Morrison makes with regard to the appropriate plac of the device in the supervision of instruction. In terms of his ow educational philosophy the supervisor will decide whether h agrees with Morrison that the observation should be directe toward what Morrison interprets attention to be and toward wha Morrison believes will give a basis for an evaluation of teachin The supervisor will need to decide whether he believes the simp process of counting is a desirable part of his observation of st dents and teachers at work in the classroom. He will interpret h conclusions about Morrison's assumptions in the light of his ow educational philosophy, his personal beliefs about what a sour meaning of attention is and its rightful place in the educati process, and of what he considers to be an appropriate use of su a device in terms of his own ideas and values, especially ideas ar values in the field of human relations.

Where the educational supervisor is deeply concerned wi building wholesome relations, the assumptions basic to any obse vational device will be judged in terms of this value. If the auth of a device makes an assumption, for instance, as many authors c that an observational device is good to use because it makes observation objective and that the device is, principally for th reason, a desirable aid to observation then, when the device judged by the supervisor, the author's assumptions as he sees th will never justify the use of the device. He considers achievi objectivity as a sole aim a questionable one. He is interested adding a device to his observation only if the device promises contribute to his main aim—promoting wholesome personnel re tions.

In striving to make an observation objective, the device m facilitate the observation by avoiding the difficulty and respon bility for the personal selection of items. Even so, its use c scarcely be warranted when in the attempt to achieve objectiv

the device distorts the observation as judged in terms of educational and human values. It is not difficult to determine whether the girls in the sewing class have crooked needles but is the observation of the presence or absence of crooked needles significant in terms of what the administrator's philosophy indicates are the desirable outcomes of the sewing class? Even the claim that the device makes the observation objective cannot be completely accurate because the selection of the items to be included in the device had to be made subjectively.

The first question then that anyone who is seriously concerned with improving personnel relations will need to ask himself before deciding to use a particular device to aid his observation is: Are the author's assumptions which are basic to the formulation of the device acceptable to me in terms of what I believe should be the aims of the observation?

When an educational personnel studies a device and determines whether the use of the device will be compatible with their educational values, they make the basic comprehensive decision which is most important in settling the question of whether to use an observational device to facilitate their observations and which device to use. In order, however, that the steps followed in making the decision may be more definite, three additional specific questions are suggested.

DOES THE OBSERVATIONAL DEVICE CONTRIBUTE TO THE SOLUTION OF A SHARED PROBLEM? When two or more persons are directly involved in the observational situation, *as is always the case,* it is important that all persons involved share the purpose to be achieved by the device, understand the device, and find the use of the device acceptable to them. In observing the efficiency of the school heating plant, whether a device is used and the kind of device used are not important questions in terms of personnel relations. In observing a teacher teaching in a classroom, however, whether the observer uses a device is important. If the observation is one-sided, that is, if the observer is there for his own purposes and uses a device for observing what the teacher does, the obser-

vation and the use of the device will usually be resented by the teacher and the value of using the device will be diminished because its use will have adverse effects upon relations between the observer and the teacher observed.

The situation is entirely different when the device is accepted, perhaps selected or even devised, by the teacher and the administrator, or a group of teachers and the administrator who are working on a program for the improvement of some aspect of teaching. The device then becomes something to channel observation toward items which will refine understandings and improve insights which the teacher and the administrator need for the solution of a problem. Observation is focused upon a problem and not upon a person. The conclusions made from the observation and the interpretation of the results from the use of the device are matters of shared concern. Nothing is imposed upon a member of the personnel. The device is not used as a bulwark for arbitrary administrative decision. The device is the tool of the group even though its direct use may be limited to the observer. All are involved and the satisfactions derived from the situation are shared. If the device does not promise to contribute to the solution of a shared problem, it is very doubtful if, in any case, it will prove worth while to use it.

Is THE INFLEXIBILITY IMPOSED BY THE DEVICE DESIRABLE IN THE SITUATION INVOLVED? Educational personnel must recognize that, in using a device in connection with an educational observation, they put a definite limit upon the modifications they may make while conducting the observation. In fact, the device may so limit the flexibility of the observer that in using the device he may be judged authoritarian. The observer must determine in advance whether, in order to make accurate conclusions from his observation, he needs to make the observation under conditions which allow him no opportunity for spontaneity. If spontaneity is required in an observation, the use of a device tends to be undesirable in that situation. If, however, the device seems adapted perfectly to the educational situation under observation and promises to need no modification, then in utilizing the device the observer is given

a release for thought instead of having a cramp placed upon his thinking. The device is then desirable.

Secondary school accrediting associations develop evaluative devices in which they have great confidence. This is discussed further in the next chapter on evaluation. The high school staffs are required to apply these devices in observing their own schools for reports to be used in accreditation and as a means for promoting better staff relations within the school. After completing the procedures prescribed by the device, association officials visit the high school and confer with staff, pupils, patrons, and others. The observational and evaluative devices are prepared under the direction of the officers of the accrediting association. It is required that they be used in all the high schools being considered for membership in the Association. Frequently a school staff will conclude that many of the prepared items are inappropriate in their particular situation. The device, however, precludes any possibility of change or adaptation. The staff may desire to follow some other technique, for instance one like that used in the Regents' Inquiry in the State of New York.[14] Since, however, accrediting requires the use of the device and the device allows for no deviation from the prescribed procedure, the staff must follow through as required even though by so doing the observations are warped and inaccurate and the reports shaped mainly to satisfy the accrediting association. In such cases does not the inflexibility of the device negate the value of the observation?

In determining whether to use a device in a particular educational situation the observer must recognize that a device does impose a quality of inflexibility upon the observation. In some situations, especially where observation is designed to further research study, the limitations on modifications are desirable. In other cases, however, the educational situation itself is so basically variable that the brake upon spontaneity imposed upon the observer is highly undesirable. Each observational device must be judged in terms of

[14] F. T. Spaulding, *High School and Life*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939.

its applicability to the specific educational situation involved, and the restrictions on modification and spontaneity which the device imposes must be weighed in terms of the general, all-round advantages of the device in a particular educational situation.

DOES THE DEVICE CONTRIBUTE TO THE OBSERVER'S UNDER-STANDINGS? Besides studying an observational device sufficiently to understand it completely and to comprehend the assumptions basic to its invention, the educational personnel must judge any device in terms of its potential contribution to the observer's understandings. Such a contribution may result from refinement or other improvement in the observation which occurs in the process of direct application of the device. On the other hand, very valuable contributions may result from the fact that the device is a source of suggestion. This means that a device may never be employed in an observation to compensate for lack of knowledge. The use of a device can never be justified as a cover-up for some deficiency in the observer's understandings or as a substitute for insight. An observational device must always augment or refine observations in a way which contributes to improved understanding or it must be constructively suggestive of avenues which lead to improved understandings.

For example, in checking the soundness of the Morrisonian device for measuring attention in the classroom, suppose an observer realizes that it would be desirable for him to have more understanding of the educational and psychological factors which govern attention. He reads psychology. He familiarizes himself with what the Gestaltists say about such matters as figure-ground factor, of clearness and the like, or he turns to a less technical treatise and reads about the factors of advantage such as change, strength, size, repetition, striking quality, definite form, or he studies what has been written about the cultivation of habits of attention or of inattention or the relation between attending and the factor of interest. He turns to the generalizations about attention which dependable psychologists have made from their many observations. Regardless of the path he follows, and regardless of whether the

assumptions upon which the device is built are sound, the observational device has been valuable because it has suggested activity fruitful to educational leadership. It has led the user to fortify himself with the necessary basic insights.

The observational device may be valuable, then, not only in that it stimulates study which results in improved understanding and insight but also because it points to the classroom situation to which such understandings may be directly related and applied. Profit may accrue both to the observer and to the member being observed from studying the device whether the device is judged sound or unsound, whether it is used or is not used for direct observational purposes.

The place of a device in educational observation, then, is dependent upon a number of factors. Before deciding whether to use a device to aid observation in an educational organization, the personnel which is interested in promoting the best possible personnel relations will need to judge each device critically. The four questions listed are guides for such judgment. If the answers to the kind of questions suggested are in the affirmative, we may say that the chances are the observational device has a place in the organization. Any member of the personnel who refuses to acquaint himself with devices puts a premium upon ignorance. It is equally unfortunate for a personnel to be so convinced of the value of a particular device that the potentialities of all the other devices available for similar purposes are not fully explored. A device unquestioningly followed may seriously limit the value of an observation.

Observational devices may have an important place in educational observation. That place, however, should be carefully decided in terms of technique principle which, as we have seen, calls for reappraisal of the use of any device with every novel concrete educational situation.

If the personnel know the devices available, focus critical judgment upon the assumptions basic to their formulation, seek to limit the use of observational devices strictly to the solution of shared problems, weigh carefully the limitations on flexibility imposed by

a device, and recognize the potentialities of an observational device in terms of its contribution to building understandings and insights, then if the personnel decide to use a device they will undoubtedly use it wisely.

ILLUSTRATIVE OBSERVATIONAL PROCEDURES

Educational observation, conducted with or without devices, makes a significant contribution to educational leadership, especially in the realm of personnel relations. In studying educational observation with special attention to its part in improving human relations among an educational personnel, six observational procedures are selected for examination: seasonable observation, observation of the group, observation of teaching, observation by groups, observation by means of pattern teaching, and observation which is conducted in connection with school surveys.

Seasonable Observation

Seasonable observation is probably most productive in terms of immediate, practical results. Seasonable observation is observation which is unplanned and completely informal. It is pat, timely, and opportune, occurring just as it is needed and completely adaptable to the situation. Often it is incidental, segmental, and casual, determined largely in terms of insights gained from the previous experiences and training of the observer. The element under observation usually is one which attracts attention because of a need which is apparent at the time of the observation.

The superintendent of a village school system one day observed the children of an elementary school class on the playground. Six excited little girls revolved on a maypole in close proximity to a corner of the brick building. By dropping one turn of the maypole behind the rest, one girl traveled at terrific speed. The superintendent visualized what would happen were the child to lose her grip or the rope to break! He asked the playground teacher to observe the

children. When her attention was called to it, the danger was obvious and she was amazed that she had not sensed it previously. She conferred with other teachers in the building and they decided to unlock the maypoles for use only when a teacher was available to give direct supervision. The village superintendent's seasonable observation was directed toward matters of personal concern to the superintendent and also to the teacher. His remarks were a normal correlate of the observation, and therefore were appreciated.

Seasonable observation occurs in response to many needs and may be engaged in by all members of the personnel and the broad school group. For example, where parents help in the school in such activities as the cafeteria, the library, or child health recording center, they too become seasonable observers and frequently their observations result in helpful suggestions to teachers and administrators.

Through seasonable observation observational techniques often make a very significant but generally unacclaimed contribution to educational leadership. Seasonable observation, however, can never be relied on to fulfill all the needs for observation in the administration of education. Because seasonable observation is never restricted by the procedures of a device or the processes determined by a fixed plan, it is flexible and direct. Personal association and communication are frequently the natural, wholesome result. In the pressure for planned observation it is relatively easy but quite undesirable for members of the personnel to neglect conscious seasonable observation.

Observation of the Group

An observer interested in planned observation must select the unit to be observed. For the principal who desires that what he does have the best possible effect on personnel relations it is important that he, on occasion, observe the group as a group. He should at times make the group the unit of his observation.

In turning his attention specifically to observation of the group the observer finds it exceedingly difficult to answer such questions

as: What should I observe? What am I actually observing? What have I really observed? What are the probabilities that my analysis of what I have observed is accurate? When the observation is directed toward the group as a unit the difficulties of focusing on some definite aspects of the whole are very great. Even the simplest group situation is relatively complex. Since it is not possible to be consistently certain of the facts concluded from the observation of a group as such, the probabilities of error in interpretation are greatly increased.

One important difference between observing the individual and observing the group as the unit is that much of what one infers about groups must be based upon observation which tends to be indirect—observation of the accomplishments, the decisions made by the group, or a pooling of the observation of many individuals—for instance, the number of individuals in the group who are satisfied and the number who are dissatisfied.

In observing the group as a unit the focus must be on two equally important aspects of the personnel relations picture: the individual staff members as they function as members of the group and the entire group of individuals as it functions as a group. For example, an observer may seek to discover to what degree the members of a staff possess a feeling of "belongingness." At the same time the observer seeks to discover to what degree the entire group possesses unity, cohesiveness, and solidarity. The belongingness and the solidarity are intimately related.

Suppose the administrator observes that, as far as the evidence from his observation of the group is concerned, one individual is a so-called "lone wolf" or "prima donna," who stands aloof and is uncoöperative. Observation of such an individual must include also the broader observation of the activities and characteristic qualities of the group because this is essential to the interpretation of any part of the observation. Likewise, in observing the group, the observer must also be equally conscious of the reaction of the "lone wolf" and of all the individuals as members of the group.

The following are illustrative of the kind of questions a principal

or a college dean will have in mind as he observes the personnel as a unit in order to secure information about their unity, cohesiveness and solidarity.

In what ways and to what degree does membership in the school staff fulfill the needs and demands of its members? The principal or dean should know that, as a rule, the needs of various members of the personnel are not equally met. The needs of leading or dominant members, such as himself, are more completely fulfilled than are the needs of the less dominant members, and the privileges granted those higher on the hierarchical scale are more desirable than those granted members lower on the scale. He would be conscious that there is a close correlation between how well the needs of members of the group are met and the cohesiveness of the group.

What degree of satisfaction does each member of the staff obtain from the overall accomplishments of the group? Does the individual look upon the group as a vehicle to his leadership ambitions or does he obtain satisfaction because he identifies himself with the successes of the group?

Are the functions of all members of the personnel sufficiently varied to require the members frequently to share responsibilities with colleagues? If some of the functions performed by any member are such that they frequently demand group action, demand that the member discharge the function jointly with others, then the member's work with and through the group contributes to group solidarity.

Where members of the personnel are dependent upon the administrator for the roles they are to play, is this dependence a shared dependence, and is the shared dependence welcomed or is it resented? Much has been written about observation to determine whether the actions of administrators have been authoritarian or democratic in character. In general, however, the very important question of whether the personnel welcomes or resents their shared dependence with an administrator has been completely disregarded.

Do THE STAFF LIKE THE ADMINISTRATOR AND DO THEY LIKE ONE ANOTHER? No group can be said to possess a desired degree of cohesiveness unless it is evident that the members like one another. Also, the more cohesive the group, the more the members will come to like one another. When one observes the presence and activities of cliques in an educational organization he observes symptoms of unsatisfactory personnel relationships. If he extends his observation further he will find other factors which are conducive to divisiveness.

It is unfortunate that educational observation, traditionally, has been largely confined to the observation of individuals and to isolated segments of school situations: the teacher, the class in sophomore composition, or, at best, the English department. One grave limitation of educational devices to aid observation is that so far all of them are applicable only to small segments of the personnel. To overlook observation of the group as a unit is a serious administrative omission.

Observation of the group will disclose whether undue weight is given popularly accepted educational standards. For instance, it is generally assumed that orderliness and efficiency are desirable educational standards and are one evidence of wholesome group relations. Actually, observation may disclose that orderliness is symptomatic of good relations or is symptomatic of poor relations. Observation will help to disclose whether efficiency and orderliness are a result of skillful teaching and of good school administration or whether they result from organizational pressures, rules, regulations, and an acceptance of or resignation to educationally unsound standards. If an elementary school principal obtains orderliness throughout the school through the operation of authoritarian pressure, the orderliness instead of being evidence of high morale actually is testimony of low morale.

Another example of the value of observation using the group as the unit is concerned with conclusions about tension. Tensions are usually labeled undesirable. Actually, in observing the group as a unit, the observer must not be satisfied to observe the presence or

absence of tensions and conclude that tensions if present are undesirable. If tension within the personnel is a result of conflict, say between the principal and the teachers, it does affect group relations adversely and is undesirable. Careful observation, however, may reveal that tension is the result of group concern over the achievement of some desirable end, and that the criticisms interchanged among members of the personnel are constructive and are the result of group striving for better performance. In the latter case the tension is a symptom of high morale and hence desirable.

While it is the responsibility of every member of the personnel to sustain and wherever possible promote the unity and solidarity of the group, the administrator is in position to contribute more than any one else. His observation of the group as a unit may be expected to aid him in this. Administrators have observed what the individual teacher contributes to the school but have not generally made the more difficult observation of what the group as a whole, which includes the administrator, is contributing to the teacher and through the teacher to the effectiveness of the educational enterprise. From the researches published in the field of educational administration it may be concluded that there has been less interest in observing the group as a unit than in other types of observational procedure. There is, for instance, no study in educational organization which approaches the observation of the group unit as it was carried on in the study made in the Western Electric Company's Hawthorne Plant.[15] This kind of controlled observation and study is needed in educational organization. Until some such studies are made research evidence will have to be gleaned from appropriate, fragmented knowledge culled from other fields.

Observation of Teaching

To gain direct knowledge of matters pertaining to instruction in the school most school administrators engage in some kind of more or less methodically planned observation. This is usually expected

[15] Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

to lead to insights regarding improvements in instruction and generally it utilizes classroom visitation, pattern teaching, or group visitation.

Certain studies [16] indicate that teachers generally consider class-room visitation a fruitful administrative observational procedure only when it has a mutually constructive purpose. Apart from the purely seasonable observation described above teachers welcome classroom observation when its use is definitely to provide assistance in some undertaking or with some on-going program. Unfortunately, observation in the classroom is handicapped by the fact that visitation by an administrator has traditionally been associated with evaluation of teacher efficiency. In the teacher's mind the observation usually has something to do with future salary, rank, prestige, and general all-round personal welfare. Under these circumstances, emotional strain becomes part of the situation and, as pointed out in our study of attitudes, teachers' attitudes are influenced, and undesirable modifications in teacher-administrator relationships sometimes result.

Traditionally the observer is looked upon as one from another sphere of endeavor. His visit is like that of a migratory bird which apears in various places and stays for only a limited period of time, never long enough to become fully oriented. In one study [17] the following seven purposes of classroom observation by the administrator were listed and 55 principals of high schools and 255 high school teachers rated them in value:

1. To make provisions for securing adequate ratings on the teaching skill of teachers.

2. To make it possible for a teacher to receive from supervisory officers their opinions with respect to what outstanding personal and teaching weaknesses the teacher possesses.

3. To make it possible for a teacher to receive from superior officers

[16] J. M. Hughes, "A Study in School Supervision," *School Review*, February and March, 1926, pp. 112–122, 192–198.

[17] J. M. Hughes, "The Attitudes and Preferences of Teachers and Administrators for School Supervision," *Northwestern Contributions to Education,* School of Education Series, No. 12, 1939.

constructive suggestions for improving the teacher's techniques of teaching.

4. To provide the teachers with expert help in improving the nature of the materials taught in a particular course of study.

5. To provide the teachers with expert help in their efforts to employ a particular method of teaching.

6. To afford active aid to an individual teacher in planning and carrying out some educational project or undertaking which she is willing to engage in and the results of which promise to bring general professional improvement.

7. To give active aid to a group of teachers in planning and carrying out some educational endeavor the results of which promise to bring general professional improvement to those who participate.

The purposes 3, 6, and 7 were rated highest. Eighty-nine per cent of the group esteemed most highly those purposes which stress constructive help. The lowest values were assigned to purposes 1, 2, and 5, all three of which imply a spirit of dictation, direction, and inspection.

In general both teachers and administrators hold classroom observation in low esteem when the observation is to be used as a basis of judgment on the quality of teaching or to disclose the weaknesses of teachers. Teachers rate classroom observation by administrators high when the observation is planned to give constructive help to what the teacher, or a group of teachers, is attempting.

Nothing can do more to reduce morale among members of a school staff than the indiscriminate use of observation through classroom visitation. It is connected with an unfortunate tradition. Even in biblical times a visitation was only occasionally considered as a reward or blessing. More often it was interpreted as a punishment or an affliction.

Despite prevalent unfortunate practice and traditional antagonistic attitudes, however, observation through classroom visitation frequently does play a significant and indispensable part in the administration of schools where personnel relations are wholesome. What makes observation through this channel a worth-while technique in some situations and not in others? The difference seems to

be that classroom observation, where it is acceptable, is part of a plan which has been determined, or at least accepted, by the group as a whole. The classroom observation serves an obvious and useful purpose in that it is the naturally suited avenue for observation for the fulfillment of the plan. When the plan is made by the group, or at least fully understood and accepted by the group, and classroom observation is indispensable, or at least unmistakably important, in terms of the achievement of the plan, then observation through classroom visitation is associated with the *plan* and not with the *man* and there is little chance that the technique will be detrimental to personnel relations.

Experience in the university illustrates that classroom observation, even at the higher level, can be disassociated from narrower concepts of educational leadership. University professors who scorned any suggestion of classroom observation in the university changed completely in their attitudes when, in formulating new integrated courses involving participation by a number of faculty members, mutual classroom observation became a commonplace part of the scheme of development. Eventually the professors felt highly complimented when a person of rank or position or a group of colleagues selected their classes for observation.

Administrative classroom visitation even for inspectional purposes can be acceptable in a school if the merit system of salary promotion is not a school policy. When the inspection is desirable it is generally associated with observation of specific items in which the administrator is personally interested. The inspection is part of a plan which the teacher understands, accepts, and in which he coöperates. For instance, an administrator visited the classroom in an elementary school daily for a week to inspect the equipment and to observe the physical facilities of the classroom in operation. This was followed by a tea for the teacher and the parents at which time the administrator discussed what he had observed and what they could do together to help instruction in that classroom by modernizing the equipment. His presentation was enthusiastically received and the teacher, parents, and administrator coöp-

erated to change some of the somewhat old-fashioned equipment for items which made the classroom more pleasant and up to date.

Observation in the classroom is a natural part of wide participation. Teacher-parent relations which make parent visits to the classroom a normal, customary procedure are wholesome. Open house, with arranged opportunity for classroom observation during regular school hours, is especially valuable if followed by informal discussion, observation of exhibits of pupils' work, and the like.

Unfortunately, visitation for classroom observation is frequently discussed in educational literature with a mechanical slant as though the procedure can be outlined before knowing why it is called into use. This further illustrates a rather general tendency in school administration to elevate procedure above what is to be done, to place procedure as an antecedent to undertaking, to make method more important than results, to use a method regardless of potential consequences. In this connection the school administrator is supplied with many generalizations and suggestions for his behavior: classroom observation is to be used to improve classroom instruction; it is a procedure for securing a basis for analyzing the specifics with which a teacher needs help; when visiting a classroom the observer should come to the room before the class begins and stay until it ends; he should observe teaching only when invited by the teacher to do so, and so on. These are advocated without reference either to situation, need, or to possible consequences.

Actually, to be successful in personnel relations, classroom observation must be projected in terms of a definite problem or undertaking and it must be appropriate to the solution of that problem or the furtherance of the undertaking. Classrooms should not be made objects of observation simply because they are convenient. An administrator concerned with personnel relations should be skeptical of advice which says that observation in the classroom is essential and tells him how to use it. When an administrator approaches the classroom wondering what he is going to observe he is probably using classroom observation not because he needs to see something in the classroom for purposes of insights and under-

standings, not because classroom observation is soundly needed and must be refined and defined to fit that use, but merely because he is following a traditional path which he will probably justify in terms of evaluation and inspection or something else. Observation under such circumstances leads the administrator to rationalize the use of the technique because no need for the observation actually exists. Such opportune type of planning can scarcely be expected ever to lead to the improvement of human relations.

Observation by Groups

When small, homogeneous groups of the personnel make observations as a group, the observations are enriched by all the normal advantages which accrue generally from a typical shared undertaking. When members of the group observe as a group they observe to obtain help in furthering a purpose which they all share. They have opportunity and incentive for the interchange of ideas and for specialization of services. Apart from other educational advantages, group observation is highly favorable to the promotion of mutual respect, good will, confidence, and coöperation. In terms of personnel relations it is an exceedingly important avenue of observation.

The principal and the primary teachers in an elementary school planned to observe in a neighborhood school as a step in their program of improvement of reading instruction. They selected the school and arranged the visit. The old Herbartian steps of preparation, observation, comparison, conclusion, and application may appropriately summarize the steps in their group venture. The observation was followed first with a conference with those visited and then with a meeting for the group themselves. In terms of personal relations this kind of group observation is considerably superior to having the principal of the school observe in a neighboring school, subsequently reporting to the superintendent and to the teachers or to dismissing an entire school unit for a day in order that the staff, as individuals, may visit a neighboring school with each individual observing that which he desires to see.

As mentioned previously, teachers and administrators generally like to work in small groups. Utilizing the technique of observation through homogeneous interest groups indicates that observation is no exception to this general rule.

Observation Through Pattern Teaching

In his endeavors to improve instruction the elementary school administrator may find it profitable to direct teacher observation by employing that old and familiar technique known as pattern or demonstration teaching.

Successful pattern teaching is usually preceded with an explanation to make clear how the demonstration fits into the group plan and to call attention to the specific features to be observed. In planning, not only what is to be observed but also who is to be observed must be decided. As with the use of other procedures associated with the observation technique, the utilization of small, homogeneous groups for observing pattern teaching is most effective. Pattern teaching, however, has been done successfully at conventions before as many as five thousand observers, and despite the unnaturalness of the situation, observers have been able to watch a skillful teacher illustrate an educational point.

Nursery school, kindergarten, and music teachers are the groups who most frequently observe pattern teaching but teachers generally are enthusiastic about the possibilities of the procedure. In earlier interviews [18] it was revealed that teachers believe there is little gained from observing pattern teaching if the teaching is not specifically conducted to illustrate a particular point or to reveal a solution to a definite teaching difficulty.

On occasion a member of the administrative staff who is specialized in some education field, the administrator in charge of visual aids, for instance, will teach a class in order that a group of teachers may observe the best use of one of the visual aids or may see a practical solution to some specific problem which has arisen in con-

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

to buildings, school sites, curriculum, and teaching. A survey staff scrutinizes the various aspects, gathers facts, deduces and evaluates its findings, and makes recommendations for improvements.

From the point of view of the effects upon human relations, our interest will be limited to surveys of a single school system or to a single institution like a state university. Usually such surveys are conducted by staffs employed outside the school or school system, a procedure justified on two main grounds. First, such surveys are generally directed toward increasing efficiency in the administration and it is assumed that efficiency will be more likely achieved if the recommendations for change are developed by outside help which, it is further assumed, will be unbiased and expert. Second, it is usually claimed that school administration fashioned to conform with recommendations which are the outgrowth of observations made by detached experts will be school administration which is "scientific." Both these claims appeal to citizens in general because they seem to promise better education for the money invested.

Careful observation of a school system by a staff of outside experts has undeniable merits. Through a survey by experts a new superintendent of schools, for instance, can learn about the school system in a few short weeks what would otherwise take him years to learn. The main disadvantage to this type of survey is that, while it calls for the coöperation of the personnel, it does not utilize staff coöperation in a way that necessarily, or usually, leads to improvement in the activities of the local staff or to improvement in the personal relations among the staff. Whatever the teachers learn from the survey they learn indirectly. The observations used in the survey are the observations of others, not the observations of the teachers. Unfortunately, teachers often look upon the traditional school survey with disdain and even suspicion. Observation by outside experts involves considerable expense; money is diverted from other educational projects. Frequently additional work is required of the school staff although no provision is made for assistance with regular duties or for other compensation.

When school leaders strive to achieve improved morale as one of the outcomes of the school survey they usually shift from this traditional procedure. The same amount of money, or perhaps more, is used. The outside experts who generally are costly and require expensive travel and maintenance, however, are replaced by the local staff with the possible exception of one or two individuals who may direct, help, and train the local personnel in the techniques of observation and may give reactions to final recommendations. A local staff, possibly working in small groups, decides the aspects of the work of the school to be observed and may decide upon the methods to be used. The local personnel then observe and collect facts and participate in formulating recommendations and in carrying out programs of action. Where competent state administrators are available they may be utilized in place of, or to augment, help imported from other sources. The local administrative staff, however, are the leaders in the survey. The survey is a project of the local personnel.

A survey made by a local personnel probably extends over a longer period of time than the traditional type. However, when the personnel are directly working on the survey they fully comprehend the problems and the recommendations and are in a position to make improvements the moment they see what should be done, while the survey is still proceeding. In the interest of personnel relations, the time to make improvements is when the need is discovered. Under the conditions of a locally conducted survey, continuous evaluation is possible. As developed in the chapter on evaluation, no evaluation is so effective as self and continuous evaluation.

The efficiency with which the local personnel observes and evaluates its own efforts is a mark of its competence but it is also a reflection of the leadership qualities of the administrator who arranges for the locally conducted school survey. The highly important values which result from this kind of group-wide participation are discussed more fully in the last chapter.

SOME CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE INFLUENCE OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL TECHNIQUE, OBSERVATION, ON PERSONNEL RELATIONS

In our discussion of devices and in the description of typical observational procedures, one particularly striking fact seems to stand out. It has become evident that *purpose* is of utmost significance. Purpose determines the focus, provides control, and influences action, thought, and feeling both of the observer and the observed. All members of the group involved in any planned observation must be conscious of the purposes of the observation. Full recognition and acceptance of purpose implies acceptance of its normal correlate, responsibility. If the purposes of the observation are fulfilled, a feeling of satisfaction and belongingness is likely to result for those who participated.

Our first conclusion then is: *observation pursued to promote a purpose shared, or accepted and associated by all the persons involved as intended to achieve something which they consider desirable and significant, is observation which tends to promote wholesome personnel relations.*

The accuracy of what is observed and the value of the interpretations are directly related to the observer's understandings and insights. The individual who knows many observational procedures is likely to be a better observer but that is no guarantee that he will. Our study has shown that some educators reflect an attitude that observation can be made good by the adoption of some procedure or device and that an observer who uses a specific procedure or who follows a device will always arrive at valid conclusions. This was the case with the principals who observed home arts teaching by using items selected for them. Actually, even with a standardized procedure, the observer is as essential as the technique. It is a common mistake, for instance, to act as though data which result from a simple process of counting, which possess the quality of objectivity, have meaning apart from the meaning the observer gives to them. A child can count the number of cars passing an

intersection but only a traffic engineer can make the observation socially significant.

By far the most important element in good observation is a well-trained and highly intelligent observer. It is the observer, not the technique he employs, who holds the key to human relations. Our second conclusion, then, is: *the quality of observation always depends upon the qualifications of the observer.*

In the light of our study of the observation technique we make a third conclusion: *in the field of personnel relations an observational technique must always be judged in terms of the technique principle.* This means that consideration of all the background of assumptions basic to a device or a procedure and all the possible consequences of its use are essential. It should be emphasized that the use of the technique principle does not obviate understanding procedures in terms of the mechanical interpretation of techniques. It is all right to score buildings and to know how to score buildings. In any observation which involves persons, however, assumptions which underlie the techniques must be interpreted also in terms of the broader and more inclusive technique principle. Most educational observation which leads to improvement in human relations will be observation which increases staff interest in and identification with the work of the school, improves administrator, teacher, pupil, and student effectiveness, and contributes to group intelligence.

As we continue in the next chapters with an examination of the administrative techniques of evaluation and of achieving participation it will be evident that these three administrative techniques are interwoven in the administrator's activities. With these three conclusions about the observation technique in mind we change the focus and concentrate upon the techniques of evaluation and achieving participation seeking further light on our problem: How can personnel relations in the educational organization be improved?

8

The Organizational Technique: Evaluation

As we approach our study of the organizational technique, evaluation, in its influence on the problem of improving personnel relations in the educational organization, we are aware at once that evaluation frequently is closely related to the techniques of observation explored in the preceding chapter. We shall discover, also, that the techniques of evaluation are involved in participation, which is discussed in the following chapter. At this point it seems well to concentrate on those aspects of evaluation which are somewhat apart from the other techniques and which seem to have a more or less direct impact upon personnel relations. The entire problem of evaluation is broad and its ramifications much more extensive than the area encompassed when discussion is limited to the possible effects any technique of evaluation may have on personnel relations. For our purposes we shall focus only on those aspects which promise to give us light on our problem of improving the quality of human relations in educational organizations.

THE EVALUATIVE PROCESS

What we need to determine first is what we mean by the evaluative process. What does it include? What happens when, for

instance, a principal formulates a judgment concerning the competence of a teacher, a dean decides whether to promote a faculty member, a faculty appraises the effectiveness of the educational program, a group of outside experts evaluates school practices or conditions, or the elementary school teacher judges the progress of a given school child? And what, in general, are the effects of the application of the evaluative techniques selected upon human relations?

Dewey says: "To value means primarily to prize, to esteem; but secondarily it means to appraize, to estimate. It means, that is, the act of cherishing something, holding it dear, and also the act of passing judgment upon the nature and amount of its value as compared with something else. To value in the latter sense is to valuate or evaluate." [1]

Choice

In many instances evaluation is simply a preliminary to making a choice between alternatives. When the choice between alternative action will result in a decision which will have no significant effect on persons or situations, choice, so far as human relations effects are concerned, may be left to chance. In some situations, and there are many such, whether one takes the high road or the low road may conveniently be decided by tossing a penny. This is true if the consequences of taking either the low road or the high road are of such a nature that either is equally acceptable. But one would not leave to chance the selection of the principal of an elementary school or a supervisor of business education. In those situations where choosing by chance is not adequate and where, of necessity, a choice must be made, when the results of the choice promise to affect the welfare of persons, then evaluation is necessary. The present situation must be weighed and judged, possibilities appraised and compared, and a definite selection made. The making

[1] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916, p. 279. Used by permission of The Macmillan Company.

of a choice which affects a number of people makes necessary the selection of a method of evaluation suited to a given purpose and chosen in the light of a definite situation.

Standards and Values

Always the choice of alternatives or the weighing of possible consequences in order to direct action is made in terms of the values and philosophical views of the evaluator. Evaluation involves values, and value assumptions are inherent in every philosophy which is applicable to human relations.

For instance, in appraising the results of certain teaching procedures, if the appraiser's educational values are associated with factors which lend themselves to empirical measurement, objectivity, comparative status, and a high regard for some aspects of rational thought, the educational accomplishments will be evaluated by the application of scientifically deduced causal relationships or "norms." Such an evaluation may be entirely different from an evaluation made by one whose educational values are associated with factors which are intuitive and aesthetic, one who holds objectivism up to suspicion, one who has little confidence that absolute values exist.

Standards and relative values, essential elements in any philosophy, determine the choice of criteria in terms of which the evaluation of human achievement proceeds. If the criterion used for evaluation originates with the individual or the personnel doing the evaluating it will accurately reflect the individual's or the personnel's basic philosophy. The results of the evaluation, and the method of its conduct, will reveal their relative values. If, however, the criteria for evaluation or for selecting a procedure for evaluation are imposed upon, or unquestioningly adopted by the personnel or individual doing the evaluating, that is, if the personnel or individual has not participated, in the sense participation is used in the next chapter, in formulating the criteria and in selecting the methods, the evaluation will not necessarily accurately reflect group or individual values. Human relations suffer because group identi-

fication with the evaluation and group responsibility for the outcomes of the evaluation are limited.

A school superintendent may feel that freeing the educational personnel from involvement in establishing standards or criteria gives an evaluation a degree of desirable objectivity. In terms of personal relations, and reasoning from the standpoint of technique principle, however, it is as a rule more desirable that all who are taking part in an educational evaluation share to the maximum extent possible in the formulation and acceptance of the standards which shape the evaluation than it is to attempt to achieve objectivity through the use of externally developed criteria. The superintendent, then, is faced with the problem of choice of alternatives respecting the question, not of what the standards will be, but of how they shall be ascertained.

Action

Evaluation as an organizational technique should lead to definite action. It is not enough to make an evaluation *merely* for purposes of comparison. The comparison, appraisal, judgment of value must serve as a directive for action which will encourage desirable growth and advance the quality of human relations among the personnel—in other words, advance the cause of education. As an organizational technique, evaluation should never be separated from the definite action which provides the purpose for engaging in it. There can be no separation of evaluation from the current of action and choice of alternatives which are part of an on-going process. It is partly because evaluation is part of the educational situation, not separate from the situation in which it is involved, that makes it necessary that evaluation be flexible in terms of methods and procedures.

Evaluation, then, is a process which culminates in decision and which leads to action. As pointed out in our discussion of the organizing process, evaluation is one step in the clarification phase. It begins with action, results from action and leads to action. Unfortunately, too frequently the organizing sequence is allowed to

terminate with evaluation. Appraisals and comparisons and choices are made but no definite action follows. The results go into inactive files. The curriculum is evaluated, pupils and teachers are evaluated, but the results of the evaluation are not utilized in the selection and inauguration of desirable changes.

The criteria used for evaluation are like electric wires. They can be dead or alive, depending upon how they affect the thinker, how they lead to action. What is a fruitful criterion in one school situation might be a fruitless criterion in another. It depends upon the power the criterion in question has to stimulate action. An educational personnel may justifiably look with suspicion upon any proposed criterion for evaluation which is advocated with complete disregard for the existence of a recognizable and identifiable widely felt need.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING

Standardized Criteria

We have said that the process of evaluation always is based upon standards and values. In terms of these standards and values, or actually in terms of an entire educational philosophy, criteria are established or agreed upon which are used as guides to the selection of the techniques of evaluation. Also, as we have said, sometimes these criteria are products of the personnel group engaged in evaluation or the individual doing the evaluating. Sometimes the criteria are imported from sources outside the organization. In such case they reflect the values and standards of the outside source and not necessarily the standards and values of the local group. They may be the product of some official body like, say, the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association. Criteria of the latter type, although not formulated by the evaluating group, are, nevertheless, formulated explicitly for the group. They may be adopted by the personnel or they may be administratively imposed upon the group.

Most criteria prepared by educational theorists or by official organizations and imported into the school to use for evaluative purposes are stated in terms of objectives which are very general in their nomenclature and phraseology.[2] The general and rather vague nature of the criteria may be explained in part by the fact that theorists and official groups of experts (two groups which often include the same individuals) usually attempt to prepare the criteria in a way which will allow them to be applied to a great variety of situations and to serve a large number and wide range of evaluative functions. It seems clear that a high degree of vagueness in the statement of a criterion will introduce an element of considerable error into the final judgment.

Since carefully framed statements of evaluative criteria for school use are numerous and since the manner of use has had a pronounced effect on personnel relations in educational organization, we shall analyze a few which are considered representative.

One of the most influential lists was made by Herbert Spencer in 1859 in his frequently referred to essay: "What Knowledge Is Most Worth?" In Spencer's analysis of life's activities he formulated five categories in terms of which any particular activity might be classified and its value in satisfying the needs of that life-category judged. The five basic classifications were: life and health; earning a living; family rearing; citizenship; and leisure.

In 1918 the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education which operated through the U.S. Bureau of Education listed the objectives for secondary education as the "Seven Cardinal Principles of Education." This list is similar to the list prepared in 1859 by Spencer and suggests his manner of stating objectives. The categories designated were: health; citizenship; worthy home membership; ethical character; worthy use of leisure time; vocational; and command of the fundamental processes.[3] The activities

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[2] For an example of the many ways educational objectives are stated and of the typical arguments advanced for their use, see Harl R. Douglass and Calvin Grieder, *American Public Education*, New York: The Ronald Press, 1948, Chapter IV.

[3] Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, *Cardinal*

in the high school were to be evaluated in terms of the contributions made to each of these areas of living.[4]

In 1924 Franklin Bobbitt published a book in which he reformulated the previous statements of educational objectives and also made a further and much more detailed classification of life's activities.[5] He had nine classifications related to general education and one related to vocational education. The general classifications he divided into more specific objectives, and exclusive of the objectives for the vocational or the specialized field which the pupil expected to enter and which were not formulated, he had a list of 821 specific objectives for general education.

A still further list of standardized objectives for the high schools to use as criteria for evaluations was prepared by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association under the engaging title: "The Ten Imperative Needs of Youth."[6]

Although these typical statements of objectives for education, which are to serve as guides when selecting evaluative techniques, vary in language, they are all similar in the functions they are expected to fulfill.[7] When viewed from the standpoint of technique principle, from the possible effects of their use upon human relations, what are some of the weaknesses of using them in evaluating? What are the objections, as far as personal relations are concerned, to having educational criteria for evaluative purposes, even if they are sound, imported into the school? And what would be the effects

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Principles of Education, U.S. Bulletin No. 35, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Education, 1918.

[4] For a more complete discussion of these principles see J. Paul Leonard, *Developing the Secondary School Curriculum*, New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1946, pp. 162–165.

[5] Franklin Bobbitt, *How to Make a Curriculum*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.

[6] Will French, J. Dan Hull, and B. L. Dodds, *American High School Administration*, New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1951. See front and back of the book and pp. 191–204 for discussion of "The Imperative Needs of Youth."

[7] For detailed description of methods of evaluation which employ generalized, authoritatively derived criteria, see Albert D. Graves, *American Secondary Education*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1951, Chapter XIV.

if the personnel felt that the criteria were not valid in their particular situation?

DIVIDE THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS. Perhaps the first weakness of such criteria is associated with the fact that these generalized statements usually attempt to separate the educative process into isolable units–despite the fact that, from the best that is known about education it seems clear that learning actually is characterized by unity and continuity and cannot, in fact, be so divided.

For instance, in the following abbreviated example, a procedure for evaluating the work of an entire high school personnel is recommended by the Educational Policies Commission. It employs the criteria mentioned above which the Commission called "The Ten Imperative Needs of Youth."

A good idea of whether a school can be characterized as strong or weak with reference to each need may be gained if a member of the faculty, a faculty committee, or the entire faculty rates a school on each of the items listed under that need. It is proposed that 5 be given as a high rating and 1 for a low rating for each of the characteristics, and N for situation in which an item or characteristic does not apply. Then, by connecting the scores on the items under each need with a line drawn from top to bottom of the page, one can see whether the school has been rated as strong or weak on the need as a whole. The weakest characteristics will also thus be easily identified, and consideration can then be given to what can be done to raise these low points. Schools get better faster when their weaknesses are identified and when there is a school-wide and community-wide effort at eliminating these specific weaknesses.[8]

How this operates can be judged from the following illustration:

Imperative Need No. 1: All youth need to develop salable skills and those understandings and attitudes that make the worker an intelligent and productive participant in economic life.

1. The school seeks to develop in all students an understanding of the interdependence of workers and the contributions of all workers to the social and economic welfare of the nation. . . .[9]

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[8] William L. Ransom, "How Well Does Your School Rate on the Ten Imperative Needs of Youth?" *National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin,* October, 1949, pp. 13–40.
[9] *Ibid.,* pp. 13–15.

N	1	2	3	4	5

A number of statements about each of the ten imperative needs like that given above under Imperative Need No. 1 are made. Each is to receive separate ratings by each of the persons doing the evaluating. The different ratings are then to be reduced to a single rating: the average. The average is to be arrived at for each of the ten imperative needs. These ten averages are then averaged and that average is then the computed average for a given school.

One wonders how, after all the breakdowns, hundreds of them in some cases, and after all the addings up, all the king's horses and all the king's men will ever be able to put Humpty Dumpty together again. That an adding up of a large number of isolable statements can give a true picture of all the educational achievements of a whole group of highly intelligent, diligent, professional personnel strains human credulity. It is difficult to see where such an investment of personnel time, and it would be considerable, could result in any desirable effects on personnel relations. That it could well result in resentment and in a warping of values and a depreciation of human values seems highly probable.

ARE VAGUE AND GENERAL. Despite the fact that the lists of objectives break the educative process into its minuter, almost atomistic, elements, the resulting statements still are not specific. Perhaps they never can be specific because they are expected to be applicable to a great variety of school situations, each of which has its own aspects of novelty. David Snedden forcefully pointed out that the statements listed under "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education" have been a vague "disorderly miscellany." [10] The

[10] David Snedden, "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," *School and Society*, May 3, 1919, pp. 517–527.

same indictments, which seem never to be heeded, are more or less applicable to all the other similar lists.

Some theorists who believed the Snedden indictment to be true made an effort to overcome the vagueness. They resorted to the method of greatly increasing the number of objectives. Bobbitt may be taken as representative of these theorists. As mentioned, he suggested nine major classifications for general education and then divided each of the nine into hundreds of minute objectives.[11] The fact that even this expansive attempt was not successful in achieving preciseness indicates that a list of objectives designed for general use in evaluation can never achieve specificity in relation to anything as complex as a particular educational situation or an entire school program. Bobbitt's 821 objectives, and remember these do not include any of the objectives for vocational education, were not definitive enough to eliminate or even reduce the degree of vagueness. Consider the following objective which is number 201 in Bobbitt's list of 821 objectives of general education. It appears as one of the objectives listed under the major classification labeled as "Efficient Citizenship."

Ability to think, act, and react as an efficient, intelligent, sympathetic, and loyal member of the large social group—that group that is prior to differentiation and within which social differentiation occurs. Large group or citizenship consciousness. Sense of membership in the total social group, rather than in some special class. Large-group local consciousness when dealing with local problems; large-group state consciousness when dealing with state responsibilities; large-group national consciousness when dealing with national matters; large-group world-consciousness when dealing with mankind's responsibilities for world cooperation and management.[12]

How would the head of a high school social studies department, to take an example, who is willing to grant that the statement is wholly true, proceed to use this as a criterion for evaluating the achievements of the personnel in the social studies area? What kind of evaluating instrument would he use? How would he proceed

[11] Bobbitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–31.
[12] *Ibid*, p. 15.

so that the net effect of his evaluation would not be detrimental to human relations within the department of social studies?

ARE PHILOSOPHICALLY NEUTRAL. In addition to the facts that statements of objectives in generalized form break up the educative process and cannot avoid having a measure of vagueness, they also are of limited usefulness in evaluation because they are necessarily stated in a manner which is philosophically neutral. The classifications of objectives used as standardized criteria for evaluation are based upon assumptions which allow for no social interpretation, afford no social direction, and indicate no social position with reference either to the objectives or to how each shall be achieved in the school. They are simply isolated statements which exist independently of everything else.

For instance, perfect agreement among the personnel of a high school with reference to "worthy home membership" as a standardized objective affords no indication of the degree of agreement the staff will exhibit when they are confronted with a situation which demands that they use a process which realizes the objective or when they apply it to a specific situation or utilize it as a guide in the construction of an evaluative instrument. The question can be raised as to whether such a "standardized" objective has ever or ever can be really standardized.

Stereotyped, standardized statements of criteria to guide in the evaluation imply general group agreement among members of the personnel in system of thought, educational point of view, and basic educational philosophy. In the earlier chapter on interpretation of role it was pointed out that, although with time a personnel can usually achieve a degree of like-mindedness with respect at least to the general aspects of appropriate education, the problem of achieving like-mindedness persists or recurs in most educational organizations because circumstances and situations vary so greatly and also because an educational personnel is not a stable group but is a group characterized by considerable mobility partly because of the nature of the profession and partly because of features typical of educational organizations. Organizational stability is related to

like-mindedness and to the quality of personnel relations and is reflected in the general philosophy of the personnel which influences its work as a group. Therefore, in order to assure educational group agreement regarding an objective, the more general the statement of the objective, the more nearly it approaches philosophical neutrality, the less likely it is that the personnel will disagree over it. In supplying an objective for adoption and general use, the objective therefore must be stated in philosophically neutral terms because only on those terms can agreement definitely be anticipated.

To say that the first duty of the school is to develop good citizenship will arouse no disagreement among any group of educators or citizens. However, in a concrete situation where some interpretation must be made to determine whether given acts constitute or contribute to good citizenship, general agreement cannot be predicted. A personnel which seeks to avoid the responsibility of facing the problem of interpreting a system of thought in specific situations will tend either to favor stating or adopting objectives which are so general that common agreement can be definitely anticipated, or will favor, as is generally true among the personnel in universities, omitting the practice of stating objectives entirely.

ARE BASED ON EDUCATIONALLY QUESTIONABLE CONCEPTS. Standardized educational criteria to serve as a basis for evaluation are unacceptable also because they are based upon certain assumptions about the educative process which most present-day educators consider invalid. The assumptions are outmoded but the practices of evaluation which were based on them continue. The procedure of deriving objectives for evaluation from an analysis of the life activities of adults, for instance, is compatible with a philosophy which conceives education as an atomistic process directed toward static goals. A quotation from Bobbitt illustrates the kind of conceptual basis which was acceptable to those earlier educators who advocated making school evaluations in terms of standardized objectives. It is this basic concept which renders standardized cri-

teria unacceptable to many educators who in later years have accepted and been guided by a very different concept of education.

It is helpful to begin with the simple assumption, to be accepted literally, that education is to prepare men and women for the activities of every kind which make up, or which ought to make up, well-rounded adult life; that it has no other purpose; that everything should be done with a view to this purpose; and that nothing should be included which does not serve this purpose.

Education is primarily for adult life, not for child life. Its fundamental responsibility is to prepare for the fifty years of adulthood, not for the twenty years of childhood and youth.[13]

It is relatively easy to analyze adult activities, as Spencer and Bobbitt attempted to do, and then to classify them into separate categories to use for universal evaluation. This makes evaluation simple. To find this procedure acceptable, however, one must view education as a process which can be guided by broad, general statements of objectives and must be willing to minimize such factors as wide differences in background, in variations in growth, in innate design, in ability to learn, and the like. One must disregard the question of what, all things considered, should be learned by a given individual and whether the individual's interests should in any way receive consideration. Knowledges, skills, habits, interests, motives, individual aims and attitudes, and the like must be evaluated without reference to current, immediate problems, to the propensities or capacities of individual children or adults, or to the conditions which prevail in any given classroom because the objectives of learning are outside the individual, even outside the curriculum and the teacher. They do not express intermediate, current objectives but are standardized statements of objectives which are conceived as ultimate, static, adult, and universal. They can be utilized at any level, to evaluate any subject, any individual, any group of individuals, or any educational organization.

Evaluation in terms of standardized criteria established on general objectives, then, seems undesirable from the point of view of

[13] Bobbitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

its promise to promote wholesome personnel relations and when analyzed in the light of technique principle. The fact that it is a procedure which attempts to divide the educative process is directly in opposition to our general conclusion, namely, that administrative and other techniques, to be philosophically sound, must be based on the concept that the educative process is unified. If it is to contribute to the building of wholesome personnel relations, evaluation must contribute to that which unites and binds, that which furthers cohesiveness, solidarity, and oneness within the educational group.

That criteria standardized and imposed upon the group must, of necessity, be vague and general, and must likewise be philosophically neutral also makes them undesirable as a basis for evaluation from the standpoint of personnel because, again, besides the fact that they are not the product of the group and that the group therefore feels no responsibility for them, they offer nothing which they can whole-heartedly accept as having a close connection with the group's own values and desires. In other words, the imposed, standardized objectives, even if sound educationally, are undesirable as criteria for evaluation partly because they do not capitalize on the activities of participation which are important for group morale.

In Terms of the Individual Growth Concept

If we accept that, from a personnel relations view, evaluation in terms of standardized criteria seems undesirable, what criteria should we use? What objectives can we utilize in formulating criteria, in arriving at judgments, in determining our appraisals?

If educational personnel, either as individuals or as a group, approach the problem of evaluation independent of standardized criteria, *except as they are utilized as suggestions*, they will have to begin with an entirely different philosophical approach. In order to administer an evaluation technique with the best results both educationally and in terms of personnel relations, we believe that the approach should be made in terms of a concept of education

which centers on individual growth. What will be the general characteristics of criteria for evaluation developed by a group guided by adherence to a concept of education which centers on individual growth?

CRITERIA DEVELOPED BY THOSE EVALUATING. Those adhering to the growth concept of education evaluate consistently through the use of criteria developed within the group. They cannot use general, imported criteria. This is true because, in terms of the growth concept, the criteria must be developed currently and specifically for a definite purpose—to appraise in order to aid in the direction of the activities of a group, of an individual member of the personnel, of a pupil. All the details of the evaluation are developed and completed by those who are devoted to promoting growth and with those who are growing. Actually these are the only ones in a position to comprehend what has been attempted, to observe the growth, to evaluate it and in terms of the evaluation to direct it.

Ends, which supply the beginning point for evaluation, are not classified items developed by an external authority and derived from an analysis of the activities of adult life but are as dynamic and current as life itself. "A living creature lives as truly and positively at one stage as another." They are the criteria which are developed by the individual group itself or by the individual evaluator. They are consistent with the group or individual's philosophical understandings and are also products of the actual conditions peculiar to the specific situation.

Evaluation in terms of the individual growth concept involves essential group agreement only on the value of growth and upon the significance of certain specific evidence of growth. In general, then, an educational evaluation will utilize immediately derived criteria to aid in determining how well the school, the administrator, the teacher, the curriculum, the program, or some other phase of the educational enterprise creates a desire for continued growth and provides the means for making the desire realized.

USED FOR PURPOSES OF GIVING INTELLIGENT DIRECTION. In these evaluations, the ends of education are not conceived as classifications of life activities but rather as continuing growth marked by current, related achievements. Educational activities are evaluated and selected in the light of their shown and potential contribution to the achievement of further and higher-type activities. Evaluation is but a natural step in this selection.

The only purpose of evaluation in these terms is to give more intelligent direction to what is being achieved. The criteria change as growing proceeds. As Dewey stated:

And, it is well to remind ourselves that education as such has no aims. Only persons, parents and teachers, etc., have aims, not an abstract idea like education. And consequently their purposes are indefinitely varied, differing with different children, changing as children grow and with the growth of experience on the part of the one who teaches. Even the most valid aims which can be put in words will, as words, do more harm than good unless one recognizes that they are not aims, but rather suggestions to educators as to how to observe, how to look ahead, and how to choose in liberating and directing the energies of the concrete situations in which they find themselves.[14]

If one adheres to the growth concept of education, it is impossible to make an evaluation of the achievements of pupils, of teachers, of schools, or of administrators by using abstract, standardized statements as evaluative criteria—criteria designed to be equally applicable to the evaluation of all learning, of all subjects, of all people, of all achievements, and of all schools. Standardized criteria, lists of classified objectives cannot be adapted to an evaluation of growth which is evidenced in the specific, concrete situation in which a given child, a given student, a given teacher, a given parent, a given principal finds himself.

The general educational philosophy of those who advocate evaluation in terms of the individual growth concept as applied to a growing child is well expressed by a child psychologist in the following statement of the function of the classroom teacher. "The

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[14] Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Used by permission of The Macmillan Company.

general philosophy as applied to the growing child is a simple one—each child is to be assisted in growing according to his natural design without deprivation or forcing in an environment and by a process which also supply a social direction to his achievement." [15] This statement could readily be paraphrased to apply to all members of an educational organization.

USE THE METHOD OF THE PRAGMATIST. Those who adhere to the growth concept of education develop their own criteria for evaluation and develop each of them specifically to aid in directing growth in desirable directions. Since they cannot begin with an authoritatively conceived statement as evaluative criteria, they might well follow the pragmatic method first proposed by an engineer. This is characterized by James as follows: "It was first introduced by Mr. Charles Peirce in 1878, in an article entitled 'How to Make Our Ideas Clear' in the *Popular Science Monthly* for January of that year. Mr. Peirce, after pointing out that our beliefs are really rules of action, said that, to develop a thought's meaning, we need only to determine what conduct it is fitted to produce: that conduct is for us its sole significance." [16]

In following the method of the pragmatists, then, the evaluation itself will be judged in terms of the action which it produces. Emphasis is upon consequences of the thought and the emotion which are part of the evaluation. The procedure involves looking away from objectives, criteria, principles, generalizations, facts, opinions toward the effects which the application of these facts, generalizations, and understandings have upon conduct. The worth of evaluation is judged as it serves as one of the elements or instruments in directing individuals—children, students, teachers, administrators—to grow in desirable directions.

Since in reality there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth, there is nothing to which education is subordinate save more

[15] Willard C. Olson, *Child Development*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949, p. 380. This statement could readily be paraphrased to apply to all members of an educational organization.
[16] William James, *Pragmatism*, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1916, p. 46.

education, It is a commonplace to say that education should not cease when one leaves school. The point of this commonplace is that the purpose of school education is to insure the continuance of education by organizing the powers that insure growth. . . . Since life means growth, a living creature lives as truly and positively at one stage as at another, with the same intrinsic fulness and the same absolute claims. Hence education means the enterprise of supplying the conditions which insure growth. . . .

Since growth is the characteristic of life, education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself. The criterion of the value of school education is the extent in which it creates a desire for continued growth and supplies means for making the desire effective in fact.[17]

SOME EDUCATIONAL EVALUATIONS

In terms of personnel relations it seems fairly obvious that evaluation as an organizational technique can be most successful in an educational organization when it is based upon a philosophy which includes the growth concept of education. When the evaluating group develops its own criteria for a specific purpose, when the evaluation is made because it is needed to give direction in selecting activities to promote desirable growth—among children, students, personnel, or any other group or within any individual—and when the evaluation itself is judged in terms of the worth of the action it leads to, then we may assume that the evaluation is an organizational technique potentially compatible with the promotion of wholesome personnel relations. What specific educational evaluations come within this broad procedure? To what features of the school organization can this kind of evaluation be applied with success?

In practice, in the school situation, evaluation typically has been applied to the pupil, the teacher, the curriculum, subject matter, or to the organization as a whole. In each of these areas the question of evaluation has broad implications. For our purposes we shall briefly review evaluation of the whole school, the curriculum, sub-

[17] Dewey, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–62. Used by permission of The Macmillan Company.

ject matter, the pupil, and the personnel in the light of technique principle and for the purpose of noting how the evaluation of each of the features makes a direct impact upon our problem of personnel relations.

Observation and experience with evaluation in all these areas indicate three broad generalizations. First, it has become evident that the educational activities of an educational organization are so complex and so all-inclusive that no one aspect can in reality be evaluated without recognition of all other aspects. In evaluating the elementary pupil's educational progress, certainly the curriculum and the teacher's competence are considerations. In evaluating the success of the high school curriculum or subject materials the teacher and the pupil must also be evaluated. In evaluating a high school teacher, the principal is also evaluating himself. No one feature of an educational organization can be evaluated apart from the others.

Second, it has been a common and disappointing experience, in every educational organization, that the results of much evaluating in all areas has not culminated in expected action. An appraisal has been made at the expense of time, energy, and money. Nothing resulted further. In terms of the growth concept of education such evaluation is invalid. Evaluation, as an organizational technique, justifies itself only as it contributes to directing growth.

The third generalization growing out of common experience in evaluating various features of the educational organization involves the basic understandings in terms of which the evaluation proceeds. Unfortunately, much educational evaluation has proceeded without general acceptance by the personnel of the philosophy basic to the evaluation, or perhaps despite general disagreement with the basic philosophy. As illustrated in the descriptions of some educational evaluations which follow, the personnel has frequently been expected to follow procedures and to complete an evaluation which was justified only on philosophical grounds which the personnel did not always accept. As developed in the next chapter, the processes of group participation are a necessary preliminary to evaluation or

any other organizational action. Even the highly desirable concept of education as growth should be studied, explored, and developed within the group. Whatever interpretation is made should be a product of their own understandings before it is utilized as the chief guide for educational evaluation.

The Whole School

When evaluation is directed toward the whole school it is usually for purposes of a school survey or to satisfy the requirements of an accrediting organization. A high school principal, seeking accreditation for his school, may engage the entire personnel in specific items of the evaluation and may possibly utilize also pupils, parents, and other persons in the school community.

Where the evaluation of an entire school is to satisfy the requirements of an accrediting association, as was previously mentioned, the standards to be applied in the evaluation are usually supplied in their finality by the association. The personnel merely follows a prescribed procedure including the collection of considerable information concerning such phases of the school as: administration, curriculum, instruction, guidance, library, plant, and the like. On many of the items the personnel indicates the school's standing in relation to standard norms. Following this a committee representing the accrediting association usually visits the school, or the college, confers with many persons in the school and in the community and writes a report to the local staff completing the evaluation and making such suggestions for improvement as the evaluation seems to warrant.[18]

The school survey has been described in its relation to the organizational technique, observation, in the preceding chapter, and its relation to participation is explored in the next chapter. It may be pointed out briefly at this point that the school survey, whether it

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[18] The evaluation schedule of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education employed a check list numbering twelve pages dealing with curricular aspects alone. The nature of the questions and procedures followed are not described here in detail. It is assumed that the reader is somewhat acquainted with such a procedure.

is conducted by outside experts or conducted by the local staff or by a combination, is generally an evaluative procedure.

In connection with surveys and accrediting not only are the criteria usually established externally but the methods and procedures are also more or less rigidly prescribed. The opportunities to adapt methods and techniques of evaluation to such factors as are related to the times, to the community, or to the background of the school are generally negligible. The school survey, unless it is conducted so that it includes the kind of participatory experience described in the next chapter, requires the personnel to perform certain services, usually to supply information, which they are not privileged to interpret or evaluate. Requesting a staff to do extra work by contributing to an evaluative project in which they do not actually share not only deprives the group of the very significant advantages typical of group participation, it also tends to foster the unfortunate attitudes of detachment or proprietorship toward one section of the organization such as were described in the chapter on problems caused by the manner in which educational organizations operate.

Among the important values of all-school evaluation are the values which normally accrue as a result of wholesome group participation. To the extent that the evaluation is a group project, the values of participation are realized. When the criteria used in organizational evaluation are imposed by an accrediting association or by a group of outside survey experts, to that extent participation values are curtailed. Even despite limited participation, if all-school evaluation has a direct and clearly apparent connection with improvements which are desired by the personnel and promise to lead to desirable growth among members of the personnel, the net effects of the whole school evaluation on personnel relations are, of course, wholesome. An important point to remember is that whether the improvements or changes are acceptable to the personnel depends somewhat upon whether the group has had a share in formulating them, whether they feel a responsibility for them and are identified with them. This we shall develop further in the next chapter.

The Curriculum

Evaluation of the curriculum is another type of evaluation strongly advocated for the elementary and secondary schools and sometimes attempted at the higher levels. This technique typically affects and may include the entire personnel. James R. McGaughy states the principle: "The evaluation of a school program must be done by the same group which determined the program in the beginning." [19] Ideally, in terms of the growth concept and other considerations also, evaluation of the curriculum proceeds upon the assumption that a curriculum should be as dynamic as the current living of those enrolled in it. The evaluation of the curriculum of an elementary school should be made in terms of group-accepted or group-developed criteria and curriculum goals conceived in the light of child growth. The avowed purpose of such an evaluation is to discover the kind of needed change. It is assumed that the curriculum of a living child can never remain static.

This is not, however, the procedure always recommended by the theorists or actually followed in practice. Many who write about curriculum evaluation recommend that the evaluation be an organizational project all right but they insist that it proceed in a systematic manner following certain standard, logical, predecided steps. The steps listed by J. Paul Leonard are typical:

1. Prepare a list of objectives appropriate to the philosophy of the school.

2. Justify the objectives psychologically and sociologically.

3. State the aims in terms of pupil behavior.

4. Organize the objectives into simple and logical classifications.

5. Select the objectives which are practical and suited to the learning experiences.

6. Determine the situations in which the extent of the desired behavior will be revealed.

7. Build or secure and apply appropriate instruments to the situations selected for study.[20]

[19] James R. McGaughy, *An Evaluation of the Elementary School*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1937, p. 377.
[20] J. Paul Leonard, *Developing the Secondary School Curriculum*, rev. ed., New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1953, p. 526.

In discussing these formal steps Leonard says:

An evaluation program is a definite and integral part of a curriculum program. Space does not permit us here to propose all the problems and types of instruments which can be used to evaluate learning in a modern school. But it should be clear to any teacher that the cycle of effective learning which starts with a fundamental philosophy of education and goes on through the establishment of aims and the selection of appropriate content and methods is not complete without the evaluation of the extent to which the pupils have developed the competencies desired and the school has succeeded in reaching its objectives. Ample use must be made of the wide variety of instruments available to suit the broad range of objectives to be met. The teacher is the central figure in the evaluation program, for the day is past when an individual from the outside can come in and look over the boys and girls, give them a few tests, and come out with an objective story about the success of the school.[21]

It is undoubtedly correct, as most writers contend, that curriculum evaluation or any other evaluation must proceed in accordance with the best knowledge of how learning takes place. The error comes in concluding that a knowledge of how learning takes place provides an answer to the questions related to when curriculum evaluations should be made, why they should be made, and how they should be made. The error is readily discovered by any educator who attempts to apply Leonard's seven steps to whatever he happens to be teaching.

Since our interest in curriculum evaluation centers on the influence of curriculum evaluation on personnel relations, consider the possible effects of handing the Leonard list of steps in curriculum evaluation to a typical personnel group at any level of education. How are they going to work out psychological and sociological justifications for a list of school objectives appropriate to the philosophy of the whole school personnel? Are not the first six steps listed actually concerned with the learning cycle and not with curriculum evaluation? Can anyone describe how learning takes place in six simple statements? Is the last step: "Build or secure and apply

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 548–549.

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1. Prepare a list of objectives appropriate to the philosophy of the school.

2. Justify the objectives psychologically and sociologically.

3. State the aims in terms of pupil behavior.

4. Organize the objectives into simple and logical classifications.

5. Select the objectives which are practical and suited to the learning experiences.

6. Determine the situations in which the extent of the desired behavior will be revealed.

7. Build or secure and apply appropriate instruments to the situations selected for study.[20]

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[19] James R. McCaughy, *An Evaluation of the Elementary School*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1937, p. 377.

[20] J. Paul Leonard, *Developing the Secondary School Curriculum*, rev. ed., New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1953, p. 526.

In discussing these formal steps Leonard says:

An evaluation program is a definite and integral part of a curriculum program. Space does not permit us here to propose all the problems and types of instruments which can be used to evaluate learning in a modern school. But it should be clear to any teacher that the cycle of effective learning which starts with a fundamental philosophy of education and goes on through the establishment of aims and the selection of appropriate content and methods is not complete without the evaluation of the extent to which the pupils have developed the competencies desired and the school has succeeded in reaching its objectives. Ample use must be made of the wide variety of instruments available to suit the broad range of objectives to be met. The teacher is the central figure in the evaluation program, for the day is past when an individual from the outside can come in and look over the boys and girls, give them a few tests, and come out with an objective story about the success of the school.[21]

It is undoubtedly correct, as most writers contend, that curriculum evaluation or any other evaluation must proceed in accordance with the best knowledge of how learning takes place. The error comes in concluding that a knowledge of how learning takes place provides an answer to the questions related to when curriculum evaluations should be made, why they should be made, and how they should be made. The error is readily discovered by any educator who attempts to apply Leonard's seven steps to whatever he happens to be teaching.

Since our interest in curriculum evaluation centers on the influence of curriculum evaluation on personnel relations, consider the possible effects of handing the Leonard list of steps in curriculum evaluation to a typical personnel group at any level of education. How are they going to work out psychological and sociological justifications for a list of school objectives appropriate to the philosophy of the whole school personnel? Are not the first six steps listed actually concerned with the learning cycle and not with curriculum evaluation? Can anyone describe how learning takes place in six simple statements? Is the last step: "Build or secure and apply

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 548–549.

appropriate instruments to the situations selected for study" the only one directly related to curriculum evaluation? Is it not possible, perhaps probable, that the personnel will tend to be antagonistic toward the kind of elaboration of curriculum evaluation which Leonard supplies? The personnel is given the broad basic terms and then is left without any help whatsoever about questions about why to evaluate the curriculum, when to evaluate the curriculum, and how to evaluate the curriculum. The personnel is told that it is good to evaluate the curriculum, and the relation of the curriculum to the learning cycle is pointed out, but the main problem is untouched—How do you evaluate in order to give direction to subsequent action? Not a single suggestion or illustration is given on how to proceed.

If we grant that all curriculum fields revolve around "the cycle of effective learning which starts with a fundamental philosophy of education," then the crux of the problem of curriculum evaluation is the character of this fundamental philosophy. In terms of personnel relations, may it not be damaging to group morale to legislate that the group must accept a philosophy like Leonard's which prescribes a general, systematic system of objectives? What if the group has a firm belief in the educational value of the criterion of continual, gradual growth as the standard for curriculum evaluation?

In curriculum evaluation, then, for the most wholesome relations within the group, it seems desirable that the personnel proceed in the light of their own understandings and concepts. The question of freedom cannot be ignored. It has been widely, but erroneously, assumed that teachers in various fields can work together as a group in evaluating the curriculum if they are supplied with a general pattern prepared by professional sources, and that the results of the evaluation will provide an adequate basis for improving the curriculum for current needs. In terms of the relations within the group, and perhaps on other grounds as well, this leaves much to be desired. To be submerged in following steps in a pattern imported from outside is especially disappointing because frequently

the personnel sees no relation between these steps and the kind of worth-while changes in the curriculum they wish to achieve.

In evaluating the curriculum, as in any other application of the evaluation technique, the criteria applied must be the product of the group doing the evaluating or at least philosophically acceptable to them. In the interest of good personnel relations it is important that curriculum evaluation should provide the optimum opportunity not only for individual contribution but also for group collaboration. Curriculum evaluation can unite and add to good relations. Curriculum evaluation can, however, divide and alienate and add to the personnel relations problems in the school organization. Here again, those who pursue a path dictated by a growth philosophy will see their way more clearly than will those who feel they must follow the logical, systematic steps laid down by others.

The Pupil

Evaluation of pupils in the public schools and of students in college differs from the other applications of the evaluation technique we have studied in that it is usually considered to be an individual matter with a single teacher or professor. Even so it has long been a source of irritation among personnel of all kinds of educational organization. Much has been said about evaluating pupils and students: that it must be in terms of individual growth; that students should participate in their own evaluation; and so forth. Our main interest here in pupil and student evaluation is upon its effects on relations among the personnel group.

For wholesome effects on personnel relations, it is desirable that the personnel group share some common purpose in their individual evaluations of the individual students and pupils. The shared common purpose ideally is the product of the personnel arrived at through the processes of participation—perhaps a common desire to help the teachers to know the pupils and the pupils to know themselves so that a sincere effort may be made to assist each pupil in desirable growth. A personnel group in an elementary school, for example, often ends up, though not admittedly, by eval-

uating pupils for the purpose of making comparisons of one child with another. They do not consider such evaluations as socially desirable in terms of pupil-pupil or pupil-teacher or teacher-parent relations. Nevertheless, because of tradition and habit, they continue the practice with all its unfortunate effects upon human relations.

Subject Matter

The reasons advocated for evaluating subject matter—usually a subject matter field—are many and varied. Miss Clara Brown Arny even recommends using the results of evaluation in her field of home economics as publicity material to improve relations with the public as a step in securing increased support for the school program. "The major functions of evaluation . . .: discovering what students know prior to instruction, motivating their learning, and measuring various aspects of learning; and providing a basis for guidance, tools for research, and evidence of the schools' accomplishments." [22]

If we stick to our assumption that evaluation as an administrative technique justifies itself in the educational organization by providing direction and help in desirable growth we shall find it difficult to accept the major functions of evaluation as they are given by Miss Arny. Do we evaluate subject matter to give emphasis to "evidence of the school's accomplishments"? Can those who believe evaluation is to supply understandings which will aid the teacher, the pupil, the school, and the parents to further growth in those desirable directions toward which the pupil is moved—motivated—accept evaluation as a procedure to motivate pupils to study? If the evaluation is terminated with the recording of a grade it certainly cannot be expected to contribute to continued desirable growth. It will not lead to action.

The following statements, to take another example, give an indication of current thought concerning the development and appli-

[22] Clara Brown Arny, *Evaluation in Home Economics*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953, p. 49.

cation of instruments for evaluation and the function of evaluation in the English field:

> Changes in the aims and procedures in English instruction are creating parallel changes in the types and purposes of examinations. . . . In the area of language teaching and composition the trend is definitely in the direction of testing power to use language effectively in actual practical situations. Tests on the elements of grammar: definitions, parts of speech, diagramming, analysis of sentences, are no longer used as measures of the pupils' power to use language. Instead, pupils are tested in the ability to write letters, . . . answering an advertisement, applying for a position, introducing a friend to another friend, ordering goods from a catalogue, etc. . . .
> *Much greater changes mark the evaluation of literature study.* The new tests in literature are aimed at measuring the ability to read, comprehend, interpret, and experience the significance of selected prose or poetry regardless of whether or not previously studied. . . .
> The new tests give the pupil opportunity to show what he can do with a literary selection previously unseen; they test his ability to read the material with understanding, to find its value and significance, to relate it to other experiences in literature and in life, and to arrive at a conclusion as to its merits and faults in both content and form.[23]

Because we are interested in the contribution of the organizational technique evaluation to the general cause of good human relations within the school group and since each educational organization encompasses many subject fields, we are convinced that it is highly desirable to proceed with evaluation always so that it will give us maximum help in promoting growth. Pooley implies that the main purpose of evaluation of subject matter is to assist pupils to *grow in constructive powers of achievement.* He proposes to test in order to help a pupil better to write letters, to answer an advertisement, to introduce a friend, to discover value in a literary selection which he has read for the first time. Pooley's emphasis is on holding the mirror up to the student, or helping the pupil better to understand himself. Evaluation is not to "motivate" the pupil from

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[23] Robert V. Pooley, "English and Speech in the Curriculum" in Harl R. Douglass, editor, *The High School Curriculum*, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1947, pp. 436-437.

without, but rather to help him better to direct what is otherwise motivated. This is different from utilizing the results of evaluative devices completed by the pupils in a specific subject matter field as Army suggests as tools for research or to publicize the school's accomplishments or to motivate pupil learning.

It seems clear that evaluation which leads to the furthering of human growth gives also the greatest promise toward furthering the cause of human relations.

The Personnel

As has been emphasized many times, any organizational activity has effects upon the relations among members of the personnel. Perhaps evaluation of the personnel has a more direct effect upon personnel relations than any other organizational activity. Whether we evaluate the whole school, the pupil, the curriculum, or subject matter, personal beliefs, personal feelings, and group actions are involved but not to the same degree as in personnel evaluation. As indicated in our study of attitudes, adjustment, and the observation technique, it is in the field of evaluation of the personnel that group attitudes and sentiments, the personal elements, are most poignantly affected. In evaluating the personnel the technique employed has its most potent influence on relations within the group. Actually group or individual teacher evaluation of the curriculum, program of activities of the school, or the accomplishments or growth of an individual pupil are, in a measure, always also an indirect evaluation of the personnel and these evaluations are more significant than commonly recognized in determining the satisfactions felt by the teaching personnel. It is the direct evaluation of personnel, however, which may elevate emotions to fever heat.

On the whole, for fifty years teachers in public schools have been unfriendly to direct evaluation of the personnel by superior officers. They have been skeptical of its purposes and have questioned the procedures used. The evaluative procedures to apply to teachers

but not to themselves have ofttimes aroused attitudes toward those who authorized or used evaluating procedures as antagonistic as the attitudes aroused toward the procedures themselves.

DEVICES. The unfriendly attitude toward personnel evaluation, especially among elementary school teachers, probably is in part the result of the fact that, typically, those school superintendents who have been favorable to rating teachers have been so determined that evaluation be systematic, that it be logical, that it be objective, or that it be scientific, that they have leaned heavily upon devices such as described in the preceding chapter, especially upon teacher rating devices. Typically the administrators who have resorted to rating have not judged the evaluation in the light of technique principle. This means that administrators have used devices without attempting to ascertain whether the wider principles upon which the devices are based are sound and whether the whole range of possible effects of the use of the device in a personnel situation promises to be generally desirable.

The conclusions about devices made in the appraisal of devices in terms of technique principle in the chapter on observation are equally applicable to the devices used in connection with evaluation as an administrative technique. Some time ago when rating was a more acceptable practice, Alberty and Thayer summarized some of the weaknesses of evaluating teachers with the aid of devices—usually by those who were striving to be systematic.

We conclude, then, that score cards in themselves do not insure either objectivity of judgment or a well-rounded appraisal of a teacher's worth. In the first stages of teaching and supervision, when teacher and supervisor are novices, they may serve as convenient inventories of a teacher's functions. Experience, however, soon renders this crutch unnecessary. In so far as the supervisor passes sound judgments upon his teachers, he will do so upon the basis of intimate contacts with their work. These judgments will be the outcomes of efforts to engage with teachers in the professional activities that constitute the central elements in supervisory procedure. When a supervisor works intensively with his teachers in the solutions of their problems and in the undertaking of new ventures, he will know their strength and their weaknesses more accurately than is possible from a few observations with a score card. The frank conver-

sations, the revelations that come from associations on committee work, the discussions that grow out of the mutual visiting of classes and centering jointly upon specific schoolroom problems will give him a sound insight into his teachers' qualities without the embarrassment and the misunderstandings commonly engendered by the introduction of rating scales.[24]

Some other writers contend that the undesirable results of evaluating the personnel—weakened leadership and damaged personnel relationships—are caused not by the fact that devices have been used to make the evaluation systematic, but by the fact that the particular evaluative devices utilized have been unsatisfactory. They contend that to be systematic does not require using stereotyped procedures. The evaluator could overcome the unsatisfactory results of systematic personnel evaluation by being inventive, constructing suitable devices, and using them only on appropriate occasions. Reavis and Cooper state: "The authors of this monograph feel that systematic teacher evaluation is necessary. They feel, however, that, before the need for evaluation can be met, the major difficulties made by those who oppose it must be eliminated from the devices and from the administration of evaluation programs. They believe that teacher evaluation has been viewed with suspicion chiefly because adequate means of appraisal have not been available rather than because evaluation has not been needed." [25]

In the rather general point of view expressed by Alberty and Thayer in the above quotation, however, there is a consistent implication that teaching success is not only better evaluated by a method which is nonlogical in nature, which takes attitudes into account, but that it cannot be evaluated otherwise without serious impairment to relations between the person who follows a systematic procedure and the person to whom the procedure is applied. No device or system can be substituted for the knowledge which

[24] H. B. Alberty and V. T. Thayer, *Supervision in the Secondary School*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1931, pp. 166–167.
[25] William C. Reavis and Dan H. Cooper, *Evaluation of Teacher Merit in City School Systems*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945, p. 6.

comes from daily contacts with the teachers, from working closely with them. If the teachers learn to know the supervisor, if teachers and supervisors gain mutual interpersonal insights, if they live together so that each develops a sympathetic interest in the work of the other, the values of their interactions can be neither revealed nor enhanced by the application of an evaluative device. Evaluation, especially when a device is used to make it "systematic", can, however, lead readily to a weakening of their relations.

Can some of the undesirable effects of the use of a device in evaluating educational personnel be mitigated by the invention of a satisfactory device? As yet, as Reavis and Cooper admit, no one has been able to do this. Since the typical educational personnel is, to begin with, antagonistic toward personnel evaluation, the antagonistic attitude will, in all probability, be accentuated if an evaluator employs an admittedly imperfect device in evaluating the personnel. These adverse attitudes of the personnel are deeply imbedded. They have resulted from well-known causes. They are related to what the personnel recognizes have been the purposes of personnel evaluation. The purposes which the personnel most resent are those in which they have had no share—mainly evaluation for salary promotion which, in our study of attitudes, we recommended be abolished. Evaluation with salary promotion as a chief objective usually involves the use of a device. Any evaluation of the personnel made by using a device is associated by the personnel with a purpose related to the use of authority, control, and power—whether it is ostensibly for determining rank and salary promotion or not. In other words, it is viewed as a political, not a professional act. The device, even at its best, tends to be an instrument which creates a cleavage between the evaluator and the member of the personnel evaluated. It tends to be a barrier to their fluent interchange and interaction. Typically it is something in which the teaching personnel does not share but something to which it is required to submit, hence the inevitable negative consequences that follow its use.

SELECTING NEW PERSONNEL. Selecting new members of the personnel raises serious problems of human relations at all levels of education. Evaluation is inevitably involved. The time to make the most thorough evaluation of the new personnel is prior to initial employment. Except for the fact that future personnel relations may be affected by the kind of experience the applicant has with the employing personnel and with the employment procedure, evaluation at this point seems to have little lasting effect upon personnel relations.

In evaluating personnel as a preliminary to selection for employment, in the public schools one pattern is typical.[26] Information about the candidate is collected by means of a blank which the applicant completes. Communication is made with the individuals given by the applicant as references. This is usually followed with a personal interview between the superintendent and the candidate. In a larger city the interview may be conducted by the assistant superintendent in charge of personnel or by an examining committee. Sometimes several members of the official staff interview the teacher either as a committee or individually, and in either case, submit judgment as a committee. A rating device providing for rating the candidate on a five-point scale on matters such as appearance, voice, interests, and resourcefulness is sometimes used as an aid to the evaluation of a candidate for employment. Usually such evaluations are averaged and entered upon a permanent cumulative record which is filed in a central office.

Customarily, beginning teachers have a probationary affiliation with the school system for a period which varies from one to five years. Usually at the termination of the probationary period the new teachers are again evaluated and only those judged competent are granted permanent tenure. Evaluation during and at the end of a probationary period is usually systematic and periodic.[27]

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[26] For careful analysis of this problem see Benjamin Floyd Pittenger, *Local Public School Administration*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951, Chapter VIII, "Selecting and Inducting Personnel."

[27] See Committee on Tenure of the National Education Association, *Teacher Tenure: Its Status Critically Appraised*, Washington, D.C., 1942, pp. 9–10.

This rather typical pattern for evaluation before employing new personnel and as a step in establishing tenure seems to be generally accepted by educational personnel of the public schools as reasonable and justifiable. Perhaps its most important bearing upon the broad problem of long-term personnel relations stems from the fact that expert and efficient use of the administrative technique as an initial step in the career of a member of the personnel renders unnecessary evaluation for purposes of salary increases at a future time while he is a member of the staff. It is this later exercise of power of position in evaluating for salary increases which some school superintendents continue to practice, which have disastrous effects on the whole web of relations within the personnel group.

DETERMINING PROMOTIONS. Educational organization is such as to require from time to time advancing, elevating, or exalting certain of its members to higher positions. The practice is always accompanied by heightened tensions. Presumably evaluation is the preliminary step to determining who is to receive the higher position. In the case of selecting new personnel, where promotion from among the personnel was not a part of the picture, the valuation, as previously mentioned, was not likely to have a lasting effect on personnel relations. In evaluation to decide promotion, however, the effects on personnel relations are pronounced and tend to be lasting. Consequently, it is desirable that the evaluation be conducted with extreme care and sensitiveness.

The situations which permit promotion usually occur singly, or at least at any given time, are few in number in an educational organization, and the number who receive promotions at any one time is relatively small. The peculiar requirements of some particular position are likely to receive careful consideration. The processes of evaluation are likely to be varied and the procedures not standardized as they may be in the employment of new personnel. There is no typical pattern of evaluation for promotion. In university organization, for instance, the presidency is generally considered a prized promotion. It would, however, be difficult to describe a

pattern of evaluation which university boards of trustees typically follow in deciding this kind of appointment. E. L. Thorndike in his lecture on "Rulers and Ruled" points out that abilities are highly specialized "so that how well a man will govern cannot be told with surety from any estimate in advance. A college administrator esteemed as genial, democratic, coöperative and relatively modest surprised his friends upon his appointment to a large institution by becoming a harsh, aloof autocrat." [23] Accurate predictions are not easy to make even with the most careful evaluations.

We have seen that the city public school superintendent succeeded to his position through a series of gradated steps. Successful and appropriate experience has, no doubt, been an important criterion in the evaluations which preceded each of the successive steps. Training has also been considered. Nevertheless, the valuation procedure, the factors which were evaluated, and the relative significance ascribed to each, have varied with the individual or individuals who have had the authority for determining who received the promotion.

Subjective judgment including human motives, likes and dislikes, and personal values is perhaps the most potent factor in evaluation for promotion. We would like to think, for instance, that the assistant professor who is promoted after two years of service to his institution to an associate professorship, merited the promotion and that there were identifiable features which showed that he received what he deserved. It may well be, however, that he had been offered a position with another institution and mainly because of competition for his services, he was promoted. Unfortunately in fields where scholarship counts, promotion cannot always wait the final fruition of that scholarship which often takes years to attain.

Every promotion to a higher position, then, requires leeway for considerable subjective evaluation. In a way, a merit gradient established through human judgment must allow for a great deal of

[23] E. L. Thorndike, *Man and His Works*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1943, Chapter VI, "The Psychology of Government," p. 122.

error from the true merit gradient, if such can be said to exist. But promotion must nevertheless be made where opportunities afford them. They are part of the social organizational scheme. As we have seen in earlier chapters, a hierarchical arrangement of personnel positions is typical of all institutional organizations. Even though the hierarchy be simplified and differences in rank, privileges, and salary are minimized, specialization of services within the organization will always entail a variety in the kinds of roles individual members of the personnel must fulfill. Because of certain advantages, some roles will be highly desirable to certain individuals and cannot be made available to all who desire them. To evaluate those who are eligible and who desire some position which is open for an appointment requires careful procedures. Whether the decision is an administrator's decision, a board decision, a personnel decision, or the decision of some special group or committee, it will always entail heightened tension, always result in required adjustments in personnel relations. The decision must always be largely subjective.

The complexity of the problem, the variations in situational requirements, the nonlogical elements such as likes, dislikes, attitudes, and sentiments of those in authority to make the final decision make impracticable any kind of standardized or even clearly defined procedure. The evaluation must perforce follow lines of an informal approach, must combine information with individual or group judgment. Although any suggestions, admittedly, cannot be anything more than general and a point of departure, the following discussion of informal evaluation and informal methods may prove of help to those who are in a position which requires evaluation for a promotion. In the best interests of personnel relations, it is well for those who are subjected to evaluation for promotion to recognize and be reconciled to the necessity for subjective evaluation in this area.

INFORMAL EVALUATION. In evaluating the personnel, then, we conclude that, on the whole, it is unwise from the stand-

point of human relations to use a formal device. There seems little question that associating evaluation of the personnel with promotion in salary or rank is highly undesirable for group relations. This does not mean, however, that the administrative procedure of evaluation, as it is applied to the personnel, is not an important feature of the educational organization and does not hold promise as a constructive procedure and as an aid in promoting wholesome personnel relations. How can evaluation of the personnel be conducted in order to achieve its best results?

Because we have accepted the assumption that evaluation of any part of the educational organization is justified only as it contributes to growth, evaluation of the personnel must always be associated with helping the personnel and individual members of the personnel grow professionally. This means that a teacher or instructor will be judged only when the need arises and then only for a specific purpose and in terms of a specific school situation. Only the one or the several who are involved in the situation will be subjected to evaluation. Those who must make the appraisal will generally resort to subjective and often collective judgment. The procedure will be completely informal. Those who appraise well will know the individual intimately both as an individual and as a member of the group. What factors of an individual's personality and behavior may be considered important indications for all-round evaluation which will give light on areas where help is needed, from where we may expect help?

Reputation. Perhaps the first features those authorized to proceed with the appraisal of an individual should be alert to in an informal, nonological evaluation of school personnel are related to reputation. If an elementary school teacher, for example, has a reputation for competence—is held in high esteem by his colleagues, by parents, pupils, and the community, it may be assumed that he possesses what one may call "earned prestige." Those who work and live with an individual will reflect their opinion of him in the things he is given the responsibility for doing, in what people say about him, and in how they react to what he does. In considering

reputation, prestige, standing, as a measure for evaluation of the individual, it is important to conceive reputation on a broad basis. Popularity with some one group—with the pupils, with the parents, with community groups, or even with fellow teachers, may not be the result of wide enough association to be an accurate indication. The prestige that counts most in evaluation is *generalized* prestige. It is also important to keep in mind the fact that a new teacher, a new superintendent, a new professor, or a new principal may not be judged in terms of his general prestige because it takes time, sometimes as much as eight or ten years, to earn a reputation solid enough to be significant for use in informal evaluation. This again indicates the futility of following through with any procedures of evaluation unless specific situations arise which necessitate it.

Specific accomplishments. Also, if those who must evaluate are alert to the specific accomplishments of an individual and his attitude toward assuming responsibility and discharging his duties, the evaluators will have significant information to use in making the evaluation. Does the individual accept responsibility and does he successfully conclude his responsibilities without outside help? Does he take his responsibilities seriously—come to meetings on time, give advance thought to problems on the agenda, have the best interests of his students at heart, attempt to coöperate with his colleagues, and otherwise contribute to wholesome group spirit? Such items and the value of such items are themselves open to subjective interpretation. They are of most value only when the insights into the way an individual discharges his responsibilities and the knowledge of his educational accomplishments are gained through close association with the individual over a period of time.

Professional growth. A third kind of information the evaluators may well use in informal evaluation of the personnel member is the degree of professional advancement which the individual has exhibited. In determining the quality of professional growth full recognition must be given to an individual's potential growth as far as it can be known, the incentives he has had for advancement, and above all, the opportunities the organization

affords him. As has been emphasized many times, an *organization is as responsible for building excellent men as excellent men are responsible for building an organization.* Professional growth is not a matter which can be stated in terms of degrees earned, articles written, speeches made, or years taught. It is a matter of improvement—improvement in educational insights, improvement in personal understandings, and in all ways which give evidence of an advancing professional maturity.

A professor's reputation, for example, and his growth in terms of his potentialities, are matters which do not lend themselves to logical, systematic evaluation. There are, however, other more or less specific features, such as research, which may be part of a professor's personal record. An informal evaluation of a professor in terms of such features, based on close personal association, will give a university dean information helpful in making comparisons which will aid in insights brought into play in organizational activity, especially that part of the group activity which is concerned with role interpretation.

This kind of informal evaluation at any level of education reflects the evaluator's personal philosophy because the relative values assigned are consistent with his basic values. The evaluation will never be used to determine salary raises for those who have achieved tenure. They have passed the evaluative hurdle when admitted to tenure status. Its usefulness is realized when the administrator, or some one in authority, works with the personnel in their group endeavor. An individual's reputation, his accomplishments, *and his capacity* for professional growth, as the evaluators know them, will afford dependable informal evaluative bases for decisions as to the organizational role the member is best suited to fill, the most effective way in which to give *him* help, the kind of assignments which will result in maximum personal and group satisfaction.

INFORMAL METHODS. An informal evaluation which employs subjective criteria such as generalized prestige, production, specific accomplishments, and maintenance of professional improvement must also employ a kind of informal method which will give

full recognition to each of these criteria. There are many kinds of informal methods. The method chosen will vary with the purpose. It will also vary with the evaluator. In the chapter on Observation it was pointed out that a device can never be a substitute for insights. In evaluating, neither a device nor any particular method can ever be substituted for insights and understandings. The evaluation cannot be any better than the evaluator. It is the good judgment of men of experience and insight and integrity which count most when an appraisal of a man or men is involved. Such evaluators will find their own ways of arriving at appraisals. We may describe some general procedures which hold promise for informal evaluation. Unfortunately, it is impossible to anatomize successful teaching. One cannot list a number of traits which when totaled will tell what the successful teacher must possess or exhibit. Even though one might suppose that the early widely used list of forty-five traits or the well-known list of eight traits constitutes the essential attributes of a successful teacher, they cannot help one to determine the relative weight of each trait as a contributor to good teaching.[29]

From the point-of-view of personnel relations there seems little question but that the check list or merit rating device is undesirable in the evaluation of school personnel. The lists or merit ratings in and of themselves are innocuous. They may have some value as suggestions. As they have been employed, however, applied in the spirit of authority and used to rate teachers for purposes related to their financial and professional welfare, they are a handicap to effective educational leadership. When evaluation is necessary, informal evaluation is the better solution. Such evaluation will be concerned with an appraisal of such items as reputation, specific accomplishments, and evidence of professional growth. After the personnel member has this kind of information, how is he to make the evaluation—make his comparative appraisals in terms of his own values and personal philosophy?

[29] Alberty and Thayer, *op. cit.,* Chapter VIII.

Man-to-man comparisons. Perhaps everyone at times, and sometimes without much real reason, consciously or unconsciously, resorts to man-to-man comparisons. Joseph Addison characterizes his old friend Sir Roger de Coverley who had come to town to get a glimpse of Prince Eugene as follows: "I was not a little pleased with the curiosity of the old knight, though I did not much wonder at it, having heard him say more than once in private discourse, that he looked upon Prince Eugenio (for so the knight always calls him) to be a greater man than Scanderbeg." Were one to attempt to describe the method by which a person makes comparisons of individuals he would perhaps obtain a different narrative from each. It is likely that each would also have arrived at as strong an opinion as had Addison's old friend, Sir Roger. The fact that the method is one that is often used either singly or in combination with some other method in numerous school situations justifies a few generalizations about it.

Let us take as an example a situation in which a superintendent of schools must decide which of two high school teachers he should elevate to the high school principalship. He will necessarily make man-to-man comparison. Assuming that both are eligible and that both are as equally able as two wholly different successful teachers can be, the superintendent must evaluate the relative merits of each. What will he do? It is likely that the requirements of that particular principalship will be a factor since no two high school principalships make identical requirements. The superintendent's own biases will also be factors. He might like a social science teacher because he feels that such a teacher will have an appreciation of the social problems of youth. He might prefer a physical education teacher because of his ability to get along with the boys. Regardless of the superintendent's preferences, neither of the teachers is likely to qualify in all of them and both will qualify in a number of them. The question of relative weight enters the picture. Although no certain conclusions can be made about the method, it is likely that some general considerations are weighed. The generalized prestige of the two men, their achievements, their

efforts to reach and maintain a high level of professional status, their educational training and educational experiences, flexibility of character, accuracy of discernment, wisdom of judgment—all these may be subjectively weighed and balanced. The position has to be filled and ultimately the better man, presumably, is always selected. Regardless, he who is chosen actually does become the better man for the position because, through work in the new position he has the opportunity to meet new problems and new challenges, to develop new relations, and to build additional necessary skills.

An evaluation which comprises a comparison of men on some personally selected information is subjective. Its success depends upon the evaluator's knowledge of the men and his insights into their personalities. The evaluation, however, is never *limited* to this general information. The criteria cannot be given quantitative values and the final evaluation of the men is not expressed as a relative total standing on specific traits. There is no claim for exactness or accuracy in arriving at some judgment as to merit gradient. On the contrary, where general criteria are used in man-to-man comparisons, they are general guides only. The comparison is determined largely by the evaluator's general feeling about the individuals after he has compared them on as many items as he elects to include.

Commentary reports. An educational administrator may be assisted in his evaluation of the personnel by asking teachers or professors to make written reports which provide a currently accurate record of a staff member's training, experience, scholarship, and professional activities such as attendance at summer school, workshops, conventions, writing articles, making speeches, doing research, and the like. Insight basic to an evaluation may be aided not only by the factual information which is included but also by a consideration of what the faculty member selects to include in the report and the relative importance the faculty member gives to various activities in relation to his general background and professional plans. In a way, the commentary report is somewhat objective —securing an M.A. degree in a particular educational field, under an

Man-to-man comparisons. Perhaps everyone at times, and sometimes without much real reason, consciously or unconsciously, resorts to man-to-man comparisons. Joseph Addison characterizes his old friend Sir Roger de Coverley who had come to town to get a glimpse of Prince Eugene as follows: "I was not a little pleased with the curiosity of the old knight, though I did not much wonder at it, having heard him say more than once in private discourse, that he looked upon Prince Eugenio (for so the knight always calls him) to be a greater man than Scanderbeg." Were one to attempt to describe the method by which a person makes comparisons of individuals he would perhaps obtain a different narrative from each. It is likely that each would also have arrived at as strong an opinion as had Addison's old friend, Sir Roger. The fact that the method is one that is often used either singly or in combination with some other method in numerous school situations justifies a few generalizations about it.

Let us take as an example a situation in which a superintendent of schools must decide which of two high school teachers he should elevate to the high school principalship. He will necessarily make man-to-man comparison. Assuming that both are eligible and that both are as equally able as two wholly different successful teachers can be, the superintendent must evaluate the relative merits of each. What will he do? It is likely that the requirements of that particular principalship will be a factor since no two high school principalships make identical requirements. The superintendent's own biases will also be factors. He might like a social science teacher because he feels that such a teacher will have an appreciation of the social problems of youth. He might prefer a physical education teacher because of his ability to get along with the boys. Regardless of the superintendent's preferences, neither of the teachers is likely to qualify in all of them and both will qualify in a number of them. The question of relative weight enters the picture. Although no certain conclusions can be made about the method, it is likely that some general considerations are weighed. The generalized prestige of the two men, their achievements, their

and authority by someone higher on the hierarchical scale over someone lower on the scale. It is not to be associated with promotion in salary since we assume that a uniform salary policy should apply to all established members of the educational organization. It should always be associated in our thinking with results which are positive, with consequences which are constructive, with ends which lead to the improvement of human relations. What are some of the general characteristics of the administrative technique, evaluation, when it qualifies under these terms, when it promises to promote the most wholesome human relations within the school organization?

Utilizes Group Participation

Educational evaluation sound from a personnel relations point-of-view always utilizes group participation to the maximum extent practical. In addition to the fact that group action results in identification and in integration which, as discussed in the following chapter, are exceedingly important to wholesome personnel relations, group participation in evaluation is desirable for other reasons. No one person can judge all features of the school accurately or appraise the complete range of educational activities. Even the elementary school principal who lives closely with his teachers cannot be sufficiently expert in the teaching of reading, arithmetic, language arts, and all the other fields represented in the modern school to make the best evaluation for purposes of future direction. The group most closely associated with any specific feature, such as reading, should, to the maximum extent possible, be allowed and expected to participate as a group to evaluate that feature. This means, for instance, that pupils will participate in pupil evaluation and that parents may be given the opportunity to participate in evaluating the extracurricular program of the high school.

Fulfills a Recognized, Definite Need

Evaluation is effective only when the need for the evaluation is real and is recognized and accepted by the group. If the personnel

outstanding educational leader, or making a certain number of speeches, may be stated in identical terms in the commentary reports of any two individuals. The school administrator who has lived close with the teachers, however, will interpret the items so that they will have more than objective significance. He will feel that he knows the relative importance of the information in each individual case.

Group judgment. There are some situations which arise in the administration of schools where evaluation employing group judgment is appropriate. This method may be employed in universities where the dean of a school will utilize the judgments of higher ranking professors in evaluating the attainments and potentials of a junior faculty member who is being considered for an appointment or for a promotion which will give him indefinite tenure. Graduate schools may use the method in evaluating requests of faculty members for research grants. It is thought that this kind of evaluation utilizes the advantages which accrue as the result of a wider representation of judgment. It is assumed that those who are to evaluate the man or the project, as the case may be, fully understand and appreciate the contributing factors and circumstances.

WHAT IS GOOD EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION?

That evaluation is inevitable seems to be generally agreed. As we have said, evaluation viewed from the technique-principle interpretation is involved in a choice of alternatives and in judging consequences for purposes of determining future action. Because our main interest in the organizational technique, evaluation, is in its impact upon personnel relations, we conclude that evaluation, to be desirable, must be part of an organizational process which is devoted to promoting desirable growth. This may be growth in the level of achievements of the whole school, of an individual pupil or student, of a member of the personnel, of a personnel group. It is never evaluation mainly for the exercise and manifestation of power

ers, the school principal, and interested parents felt a need for improved facilities in the fourth-grade rooms. Their intuitive familiarity with the facilities in current use showed certain deficiencies in terms of the educational experiences they desired for the fourth-grade children. They started out to correct these. Their familiarity with the conditions in fourth-grade school rooms generally and with the limitations due to physical equipment in their own fourth-grade room made their evaluation and recommendations adequate and accurate. That the project was a group one led the principal to contribute his knowledge about the fact that there is less quarreling and petty bickering on well-equipped playgrounds than upon poorly equipped ones; that educational programs in well-planned buildings are more likely to succeed than programs in poorly planned and poorly equipped buildings. There was no attempt to prove what he said. The group accepted his statements and incorporated them in the evaluation because, as a group, they had intuitive familiarity with the situation. The evaluation was satisfactory from a personal relations point of view partly because it did lead to definite improvement.

An evaluation which is busy work, which terminates in unfortunate pupil or teacher comparisons, or otherwise does not lead to recognized educational improvement, can be exceedingly damaging to group spirit, to organizational attitudes, and to social outlook.

The evaluation of pupils, of teachers, or of any aspect of the educational picture, should not be terminal. It should encompass a plan for future evaluation. The pupils evaluate their progress in a high school social science project, and their evaluation leads to improvement in their activities in following up the subsequent social science project. The evaluation must not be spasmodic, a single isolated experience, but one part of a series of evaluations which are constantly growing out of current situations and leading into action.

Like learning, evaluation is continual, never terminal. As life changes, so must the curriculum be changed. Evaluation of the curriculum is a step in curriculum change but the evaluation must

assumes responsibility for participating in the evaluation called for by a school survey and does not recognize or accept some definite need which the evaluation promises to serve in a practical way, the advantages of having the group participate will be limited to the advantages of specialization of services and breadth of understanding and will not, as a rule, include the sociological and psychological advantages of participation which are the advantages most important from the point of view of personnel relations.

Is Based on Philosophical Understandings of the Group

The criterion for evaluation is the aim or objective which the activity, program, pupil, or personnel member aspires to achieve. Future action is determined in light of the success of the current action or the effectiveness of the feature as revealed in the evaluation. If the objectives of the organization are determined by the group in the light of their philosophy not only will their evaluation be acceptable to them but also the decisions and choices of alternatives for action which grow out of the evaluation will be meaningful and acceptable. If the objectives are not imposed upon the group or unquestioningly adopted by the group from some external, authoritative sources, they tend to avoid the vagueness and philosophical neutrality typical of formalized statements of objectives which many times lead a personnel to become skeptical.

Leads to Growth

A school evaluation inaugurated to fulfill a definite need should, to be a wholesome group activity and desirable in terms of personnel relations, lead to recognizable improvement. This means that the evaluation will always take full cognizance of the current situation and will reveal the next step to some action which progressively advances education. Ideally, for evaluative purposes, familiarity with the current situation should be sufficiently intense and comprehensive so that discernment can be intuitive.

A group composed of fourth-grade children, fourth-grade teach-

index or a number of indexes that make it possible to report to the pupil, or to the parent, or to the community, the extent to which the curriculum is fulfilling the promise of those who developed it." [31]

To make the complete use of an evaluating device an end in itself, such as to arrive at an index number, to allow an evaluating device to separate appraisal from teacher functioning, to permit the device to surround evaluation with technicalities which limit it to the realm of supertrained specialists means that the personnel will find it increasingly difficult to utilize the kind of educational evaluation which involves maximum group participation, proceeds to fulfill a recognized definite need, is in terms of objectives which are formulated by the group in the light of their common philosophical understandings, leads to improvement and possesses the desirable quality of continuity.

Mechanical devices to aid in an evaluation of teaching tend to tempt the one who uses them to take little account of the fact that the effects of good teaching may not accurately be judged immediately inasmuch as the effects of teaching are accumulative and postponed. There is the constant danger, when a device is used, that the device may distract him, may render him unable to exercise his insight and use his personal judgment in giving weight to these remote effects which elude prediction and which definitely cannot be given immediate evaluation.

Does Not Reveal Causes

In addition to the positive marks of a good educational evaluation which are listed, there is at least one negative characteristic of all educational evaluation. Evaluation never reveals causes. How cause and effect operate among human beings is a complex matter. Most results stem from multiple interrelated causes.

Evaluating a teacher by man-to-man comparison, in terms of some general personal criteria, or even through group appraisal of success

[31] The American Association of School Administrators, "Schools for a New World," *Twenty-Fifth Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1947, p. 275.

be one continuing link in a constant process. Each evaluation grows out of a situation which grew out of an evaluation and each evaluation is built upon past evaluations. With any problem of evaluation the past is important. As Guthrie points out in reference to individuals:

> Knowing a man's past history we can make specific statements concerning how he will behave in specific situations which would be quite impossible if all the information we had concerning him was that he was human. The best information we can gain concerning how a man will behave in a given set of circumstances comes from the record of what he last did in these circumstances. Individual likes and dislikes, idiosyncrasies, response tendencies, the greater part of all that we can predict of the individual man is predicted in terms of the association of specific features of response with specific features of a situation.[30]

Utilizes Devices Only As Aids and With Full Recognition of Their Limitations

What was said in the chapter on observation about devices generally can be specifically applied to evaluative devices. Devices can never make the evaluation better than the person or group doing the evaluating. Devices can never justify making objectivity the chief aim where matters which have educational significance are concerned. Devices can never serve as substitutes for personal insights and understandings.

There is some evidence that teachers and administrators have been so accustomed to using devices in their evaluations that they have lost faith in their own competence to evaluate without a mechanical aid or to express judgment in language other than index numbers. "In a fundamental sense appraisal of any enterprise must be quantitative. We infrequently want a simple answer of yes or no. Usually we want to learn to what degree objectives are being realized. This means that the testing situation must be of such a nature as to make possible a quantitative statement. There should be some

[30] E. R. Guthrie, *The Psychology of Learning*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935, pp. 18–19.

9

The Organizational Technique: Achieving Participation

In our pursuit of an answer to the problem of how to secure the best human relations in the educational organization we have examined some principles of organization and some of the problems related to the manner in which the organization operates, we have analyzed role determination in the educational organization, we have studied the individual member of the personnel in terms of his attitudes and sentiments and his personal adjustment, and we have studied the influence of the organizational techniques of observation and evaluation on personnel relations. One consistent conclusion has been evident and that is that as far as the promotion of wholesome personnel relations is concerned, the quality of sharing which is characteristic of the group with wholesome personal relations is of basic importance. The educational organization and the organizational techniques used tend to be most desirable in terms of personnel relations when they have a mutual relationship to group participation.

Since group participation is unmistakably related to personnel relations it is important that the organizational technique, achieving participation, be as effectively and soundly utilized as possible. Notice that participation itself is not the organizational technique. The organizational technique is *achieving* participation. What actu-

with a specific enterprise, or with the aid of a mechanical device cannot be expected to reveal why the teacher *is* what he *is*, what made him that way. Observation, communication, and study must be included in the activities of the educator who wishes to get any light on causes.

degree in relation to personal and environmental factors. Influencing personal and environmental factors so that participation will be maximum in terms of individual capacities is an organizational responsibility.

Participation of a nature implied by the above definition is learned through direct experience. It, in turn, promotes learning. As Dewey expressed it: "If the living, experiencing being is an intimate participant in the activities of the world to which it belongs, then knowledge is a mode of participation, valuable in the degree to which it is effective. It cannot be the idle view of an unconcerned spectator." [3]

It is common experience, especially among teachers of smaller classes, that increased participation in the activities of the group usually is accompanied with increased learning in the areas of skills. In general, children make much greater improvement in their command of reading skills and their comprehension of what is read, by participating in the group activities related to reading than by isolated, individual effort. The best results are obtained when reading is a natural outgrowth of the various group activities in which the children engage. The same is true in learning Spanish or French, especially in mastering conversation. Pupils not only learn to participate as members of a group, they also learn Spanish or French or some other skill better when they work in a group setting. Experiments in industrial management have shown that this kind of general result may occur also with adults.

Experience in participation leads to improved skills in participation and in the acquisition of knowledges which contribute to these skills. As Dewey implies, there is a marked difference between the spectator and the participant who shares in the activities of the group. It is the participating member in the organization who learns most, and it is the participating member who most promotes learning.

[3] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916, p. 392.

ally is participation? What is there about participation which makes it such an important achievement for the educational group? [1]

MEANING OF PARTICIPATION

Ideally, participation means every member of the group sharing, to the extent of his capacity, in the activities which are related to the functions of the group. As shown conclusively by such studies as the one made at Western Electric,[2] maximum sharing in the activities of the group has a direct relation to practical group achievement. It is, however, related to group achievement in a way which cannot be wholly explained in terms of an extension of the simple truth that two heads are better than one. For purposes of this discussion focus is directed specifically upon the connection between participation and human relations although, of course, successful practical achievement of the personnel has an inevitable effect on personnel relations and cannot actually be separated in any discussion.

Participation is not an absolute term. It must not be confused with mere activity. A number of people together in one place and engaged in an activity are not necessarily participants. A teacher who joins the group in the subway is engaged in an activity. He is not, however, a personal participant in the transportation enterprise and that fact shapes his feeling toward the subway. In a school situation, in terms of personal participation, a teacher's activities may be such that he is just a degree more of a participant in the educational enterprise than he is in the transportation one. Ideally, as mentioned above, participation means everyone sharing to the maximum extent of his capacities in the activities which are related to the functions of the group. However, the active involvement of a man in the group, as he shares its common functions, may vary in

[1] See Dwight L. Arnold, "Morale as Influenced by Participation in Group Planning and Action," *Educational Research Bulletin*, College of Education, Ohio State University, November 11, 1953, pp. 202–211.

[2] Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1945.

tunities and that he receive strong encouragement to share widely with his colleagues because this is the group, the most important group and, in some cases, the only group which can give him the experience essential to the fulfillment of the psychological need to build within himself a feeling of personal worth.

Men have long contended that it is wholesome for the general social welfare for mature individuals to participate in formulating the values that regulate their living together. We cannot stop here. We should also be aware that participation in the activities of the intimate groups which directly shape the lives of human beings is equally essential to the wholesome personal development of the individuals who are members of that group. Since every educational organization, if capably administered, provides the opportunity and has the responsibility to provide each member of the personnel with his principal group avenue for self-expression, and since the achievement of status through activity is required for healthy personal adjustment, each member of the personnel must be permitted and encouraged to contribute creatively. As a member of an intimate group each individual must be allowed to share to the limit of his capacity in the development and operation of the organization which, more than any other one group, provides the group channel for development and enlargement of his ego. As F. J. Roethlisberger expresses it:

Some people claim, for example, that the size of the pay envelope is the major demand which the employee is making of his job. All the worker wants is to be told what to do and to get paid for doing it. If we look at him and his job in terms of sentiments, this is far from being as generally true as we would like to believe. Most of us want the satisfaction that comes from being accepted and recognized as people of worth by our friends and work associates. Money is only a small part of this social recognition. The way we are greeted by our boss, being asked to help a newcomer, being asked to keep an eye on a difficult operation, being given a job requiring special skill—all of these are acts of social recognition. They tell us how we stand in our work group. We all want tangible evidence of our social importance. We want to have a skill that is socially recognized as useful. We want the feeling of security that comes not so

RELATION TO GROUP MORALE

Why, in terms of personnel relations, does ideal participation demand maximum sharing? Why is participation so unmistakably related to group morale and group achievement? For answers we must look to the nature of participation itself. The essence of participation may be expressed in such key words as: personal worth, identification, responsibility, and interaction—interrelated words with sociological and psychological significance in the light of which the important connection between participation and personnel relations can be better understood.

Personal Worth

Psychologists attribute great importance to what they call the development of the ego, a term they use for describing the self as a value to be protected, developed, and enlarged.[4] This value is closely associated with a strong belief that a sense of personal worth and a feeling of personal recognition are essential to the development of a wholesome personality. Since a sense of personal worth and the satisfaction of personal recognition are not spontaneously assigned and cannot be achieved apart from the group, each individual must achieve satisfying status within his group. For this reason it is psychologically basically important that each member of any educational organization be permitted and encouraged to participate to his maximum capacity as a member of a group, especially as a member of that group of people with whom he is most closely associated. A lack of opportunity to participate with others in the management of the affairs of the community may not cause a public school teacher much concern or be especially significant in his total experience. With his immediate associates, the persons with whom he has daily contact, his fellow workers in the school, however, it is essential that the teacher have many oppor-

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[4] Muzafer Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology,* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, p. 304 (reference to a study by W. F. Whyte "Economics and Human Relations in Industry," unpublished).

that self-interest is seen as a part of group interest. Welfare of the group contributes to the welfare of the individual. Self-interest is fused with group interest. Identification may be the result of conscious endeavor to unite with the group for deliberate furtherance of self-interest.[6]

Maximum individual devotion of powers, habits, and potentials to the educational group enterprise can be realized only when the individual members of the personnel are completely identified with the functions of the organization and especially with those functions with which the individual in his immediate group of associates is directly concerned.

Since identification is a personal matter involving an emotional attitude, identification cannot be dictated by external administrative authority or pressure. Identification demands a reasonable degree of freedom to act, opportunity to assume responsibility, and to share responsibility with others.

Sherif, speaking of children, says what also could be said of adults: "Thus, through coöperative participation he (the child) comes to accept the group norms as his own and to develop his identifications, loyalties, and inner responsibilities toward them."[7]

SHARED NORMS. What is the relation of shared norms to identification? In the educational organization where teachers work independently of one another each develops his own norms, his standards of behavior, his individual point of view. When a personnel is united, work closely together, norms of the individuals become progressively more alike, and finally, through interaction in the participatory relationship, the norms of the individuals in the personnel become sufficiently alike that they are accepted and clearly recognized as the norms of the organization.

For instance, a consolidated, rural, elementary school stands for the preservation of the children's physical health. All members of the personnel participated in helping to formulate this standard, they

[6] For examples of organizational problems associated with incomplete identification with the group, see Chapter 3.
[7] Sherif, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

much from the amount of money we have in the bank as from being an accepted member of a group. A man whose job is without social function is like a man without a country; the activity to which he has to give the major portion of his life is robbed of all human meaning and significance.[6]

When members of the educational personnel achieve the personal satisfactions which accompany prestige, recognition, and status achieved through participation in the school group, then personal satisfactions tend to become group satisfactions and as such contribute to group unity. Members of the personnel not only share group functions but their satisfactions also are communicated to the personnel. In this way even the personal advantages of participation related to individual satisfaction in the feeling of personal worth contribute to group integration. Where members of the personnel work harmoniously and efficiently as a cohesive group, fully sharing in developing and operating the school, personal satisfactions, including the satisfaction of the need for status and recognition, will be fulfilled through the educational organization.

Identification

A PERSONAL ATTITUDE. Identification, another word linked with participation, as used in connection with group relations, refers to the process by which individuals merge with and are absorbed within the personnel to the extent that they envisage their roles as shared roles within the organization and experience security, recognition, and power from sharing the success and prestige of the organization. In this sense, identification with an educational organization is a personal attitude, a frame of mind and a feeling. Identification means that the individual submerges his personal interests within the interests of his associates. He feels with his colleagues. His pleasurable reactions are related to the successes of the group. His distress is related to its frustrations and difficulties.

This does not mean that self-interest is absent. It means rather

[6] F. J. Roethlisberger, *Management and Morale*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 24.

and to be functionally effective, they must have their roots in criteria upon which the group, as a whole, has built its standards. In an educational group, for such regulations to fit ideally into a pattern of personnel relations, they must always be the fruit of group participation. When judging the appropriateness of a school regulation, whether the personnel participated in establishing the regulation is just as revealing as is the question of whether the policy is wholly a wise one in terms of concrete results.

An individual member of the personnel may be identified with a number of social groups outside the educational organization and he may react differently in different situations depending upon the group with which he is associated at a particular time and the degree of his identification with that group. The school principal behaves differently in discharging his responsibilities as a principal from the way he behaves when acting as a husband, father, or member of the church board of trustees. Identification, the shared norms of the group, are in part responsible for this variation in behavior. Those who have shown great competence in their associations with a group with which they are identified may be highly unsuccessful when they are moved to a group with which they do not share the norms or do not experience identification. It is for this reason that a great scholar sometimes fails as an educational administrator, a political scientist is an unsuccessful governor, and a competent commercial banker is not successful as an economic leader.

SATISFACTIONS. Group norms and identification with the personnel are fostered by satisfactions within the personnel and also by emotion resulting from group action, if the emotion, when strong, is not too long sustained. Identification with the personnel in its work toward group goals generates a moderate degree of emotional excitement which potentially reinforces the individual's ability and interest in improving his skills. Many teachers find increased energy for and interest in solving problems generally from the reinforcement they receive through shared experience in faculty groups with which they are genuinely identified. The emo-

accept it, they make their decisions in terms of it, it serves as the norm of the organization. It serves as an instrument with which to plan. The matter of serving hot lunches for the children came before the personnel for decision. Cost, investment of time, use of the space all entered into the discussion. The final decision to serve hot lunches, however, was determined by the fact that the group shared a sincere concern for the physical health of the children and saw a relationship between hot lunches and health. Desiring this end, they devised ways, some of them quite ingenious, to solve the problem. The solution, while not entirely to anyone's liking, was arrived at in a shared manner which actually raised the feeling tone of the personnel.

In another situation, where the high school pupils lacked sufficient playground space, after a discussion of the problem the faculty group decided to permit the young people to play on the beautiful lawns which surrounded the school. This despite the fact that the lawns had for a long time been a source of civic pride. Since all shared in deciding the problem, none felt offended at losing a cherished bit of landscape.

Individual members of a unified personnel tend always to settle issues in terms of the organizational norms because they feel possessive toward and responsible for such norms. In an organization with a rapidly changing personnel, part of the floundering and uncertainty of the action of the personnel is the result of difficulty in developing group norms. The unifying advantages of bona fide personnel norms are possible only when the norms are allowed to unfold through the processes of shared experience characteristic of group participation. They are a bulwark to personal identification.

Membership in an educational personnel group within an educational institution requires a certain degree of conformity. Desirable conformity to the institutional rules, regulations, and policies is conformity based upon intelligent understanding and deliberate acceptance. The origin of the rules, regulations, and policies has an important bearing upon the way they are understood and accepted. In order for legislative directions to be received whole-heartedly

adopted, he feels a possessive reponsibility for the plan when it is carried out. As he increases the scope or the extent of his participation so also he adds to his feeling of responsibility for the ultimate success of the activities which grow out of the participation. Participation is inevitably bound to responsibility.

A school principal may feel that he reduces his responsibility by utilizing the avenues of participation. Actually, spreading responsibility does not reduce it. The principal has instead a greater responsibility for appropriately interpreting his role, a greater demand for skill, and a greater need for penetrating understanding and for more comprehensive mastery of facts and knowledge. In the earlier chapters on organization it was pointed out that the most promising structure of organization for the school is that which furnishes functional coördination with a simple, elemental hierarchical plan. The principal has a role to play and by virtue of this role his responsibilities are determined. Participation may enable him to fulfill his role more effectively and with more satisfaction but it will not reduce his responsibilities.

Responsibility by all personnel is associated closely with role determination. Through the activities of participation, individuals in an educational personnel have the opportunity to arrive at a clearer understanding of the personal roles which each is to play in the organizational enterprise. Determination and clarification of personal roles may be achieved in one of two ways. If an individual's role is established and clarified for him by some one higher on a scalar chain of authority, participation is not involved. On the other hand, if an individual's role is determined through the methods of participation used in the organizing process, the entire group shares in the determination of roles.

In participation, in group collaboration, in shaping and conducting the activities of the organization, the determination of the responsibilities and limitations of the roles for each individual member is basically important to the adjustment of the individual to the group as a whole and to each individual in the group. A feeling of insecurity among teachers may be due to inadequate tenure

tion engendered by identification with the educational personnel is highly desirable, personally.

There are those who would state this much more emphatically. They say that identification, brought to fruition through participation is, in fact, an essential ingredient to a satisfying life. "Loneliness, with its related problems, is the result of the frustration of man's biosocial needs by the processes of desocialization in modern society, that is by the reduction of modes and opportunities for spontaneous and unreserved social participation."[3]

Four teachers teach in the primary grades of an elementary school. They work in individual classrooms for weeks and are as isolated, as far as teaching is concerned, as shipwrecked inhabitants on separate desert islands. When one of the teachers was confronted with a difficult problem the principal of the school had his opportunity. He brought the teachers together as a group and discovered they were eager to share in the solution of the problem. Not only was the difficulty analyzed, but the four teachers were unified in terms of a common goal for achievement and all were identified with that group as a unit.

The value of the emotional reinforcements afforded the group by the administrative achievement of participation and personal identification with the group is like the enriching, sympathetic, mellowing overtones of an organ, constantly and continuously accumulative.

Responsibility

The third key word to aid in our understanding of group participation is "responsibility." Identification, the personal attitude of complete affiliation with the personnel, arouses a feeling of responsibility for the progress of the group. The intensity of the feeling of responsibility is in direct ratio to the intensity of desire to participate. If an individual participates actively in a group solving a particular problem, perhaps makes specific suggestions which are

[3] Margaret Mary Wood, *Paths of Loneliness*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1953, p. 9.

standing of participation is "interaction." Interaction is the mutual reciprocal influences among members of the personnel which contribute to adjustment among individuals in the group and between the individual and other aspects of the organization. Effective reciprocal adjustment can accrue from interaction only under conditions which encourage the realization of wide-scale and wholehearted participation. Each member of a personnel group cannot exert reciprocal influence unless each has the opportunity to associate, to share in group discussion, and to contribute to group decisions and group plans.

Healthful interaction is essential to the achievement of an integrated personnel with unity of purpose, shared norms, group understanding, and acceptance of individual roles and responsibilities. In other words, it is essential to functional unity. Misunderstandings, jealousies, and prejudices tend to shrink and to lose their potency under the effects of group activity in which each member has the opportunity and encouragement to explain his understandings and his points of view. Two teachers, through interaction, influence each other. If they begin with conflicting opinions they may not reach complete uniformity but each will have the opportunity to evaluate the other's views, each may exert influence for mutual change, and each may modify his views. Finally, agreement *may be reached, perhaps in terms of one view or the other, perhaps* in terms of a compromise which includes something of each and eliminates something of each, or perhaps in terms of something agreeable to both which is the older view of neither but something new and different. As Mary Follett says:

It (compromise) is the accepted, the approved, way of ending controversy. . . . There is a way beginning now to be recognized at least, and even occasionally followed: when two desires are *integrated*, that means a solution has been found in which both desires have found a place, that neither side has had to sacrifice anything. . . . Integration involves invention, and the clever thing is to recognize this, and not to

or salary, but it should not be overlooked that frequently a feeling of personal insecurity results from the unsatisfactory manner in which the allocation of roles is determined and to the lack of clarity with which these functions of individuals are understood by all members of the personnel.

The interchange and interaction of the members of the personnel in participation promote understandings—including *mutual under-standings of personal functions.* Having a definite role to play, knowing that that role is acceptable and understood by the personnel as a whole, knowing the relation of that role and of all the other roles to the school's aims and purposes, and knowing that the functions implied in the roles are not static but are dynamically related to the organizing process, is as fundamentally important to a feeling of personal security as are salary and tenure.

A school celebrated its fiftieth year by staging a pageant which demanded the united services of the complete personnel for a period of six weeks. All shared in building the program, in determining the responsibilities for each member and in accomplishing a successful celebration. The personnel had never before enjoyed so high a degree of cohesiveness or felt so gratified with its accomplishments. To them the rather novel experience in participation had been satisfying. They had a conscious appreciation of definite, acceptable group-determined roles. The experience in the anniversary celebration paved the way for unprecedented, extended, general participation in the broad, current projects of this particular school.

No one can participate and escape responsibility for the conse-quences of that participation. The clear understanding of roles and group determination of clearly understood functions which are generally acceptable are desirable goals of participation through the organizing process, because such understandings and responsibilities are basic to successful coördination, individual adjustment, and group unity.

Interaction

The last, and perhaps most important, key word to the under-

ORGANIZATION AND ACHIEVING PARTICIPATION

Assuming that achieving participation is an essential goal in the building and maintenance of satisfactory human relationships in any educational organization, how is maximum sharing leading to the highest degree of ego involvement obtained? What needs to be done in an educational organization to cause the personnel to identify themselves whole-heartedly with the organization? How may an educational organization operate so that each member will at all times feel responsible for its achievements? We may say that that organization which facilitates the achievement of participation and which is itself a product of the processes of participation is the organization which will be successful in promoting good human relations. What kind of organization is that? Let us examine critically some typical educational organizational arrangements with the purpose of judging how well they facilitate the achievement of participation.

Logical Codes

The most common, the typical pattern for educational organization, and for most other social organizations in general, tends closely to follow a logical plan or code. A hierarchical principle is assumed at the beginning to be true and is accepted or adopted in advance as the principle to follow when organizing. This may be the hierarchical-scalar-chain principle, the principle of limited contacts, the principle of span of control, the principle of line and staff or the principle of centralization. Whatever this organizing principle is, the various functions, duties, responsibilities, and authority of the personnel are determined and allocated through a process of reasoning logically from the accepted principle.

HIERARCHICAL-SCALAR-CHAIN PRINCIPLE. Perhaps the most common of the principles followed in logical organization is that known as the hierarchical-scalar-chain principle. This was described briefly in our study of role interpretation and the func-

let one's thinking stay within the boundaries of two alternatives which are mutually exclusive.[9]

The important thing about interaction is that each has had the opportunity to understand the other, perhaps to become modified, perhaps to share in creating something. The experience of participating has extended understanding, and conflicts have been resolved.

The quality of functional unity characteristic of a particular personnel group is related to the quality of this process of interaction. When the personnel achieves a high level of integration, there is a minimum of internal conflict and a reduction in the tendency to make decisions mainly in terms of the emotional—the prejudices, biases, and obsessions. Purposeful, deliberate, intelligent group-minded interaction promotes functional unity by aiding each individual to grow in tolerance, understanding, and like-mindedness.

The more rigidly organized the school, the more interactions among the personnel follow predetermined lines, the less likely it is that interactions will contribute to unity within the personnel as a whole. To quote again from Follett: "This (integration) is the most important word, not only for business relations, but for all human relations: not to adapt ourselves to a situation—we are all more necessary to the world than that; neither to mould a situation to *our* liking—we are all, or rather each, of too little importance to the world for that; but to take account of that reciprocal adjustment, that interactive behaviour between the situation and ourselves which means a change in both the situation and ourselves." [10]

School administrators, fully conscious of the values of interaction, will do all that they can to provide as many opportunities as possible for wide and intelligent interaction. They will recognize that intelligent interaction is essential to wholesome relations within the educational personnel group.

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[9] Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick, editors, *Dynamic Administration, The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940, pp. 32–33.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

BOARD OF EDUCATION

Superintendent of Schools

Function of Business Affairs

Functions of Administration and Personnel

Functions of Instruction and Auxiliary Services

Function of Information and Advice

Clerk Bookkeeper

Director of Maintenance

Principals

Assistant for Public Relations (part-time)
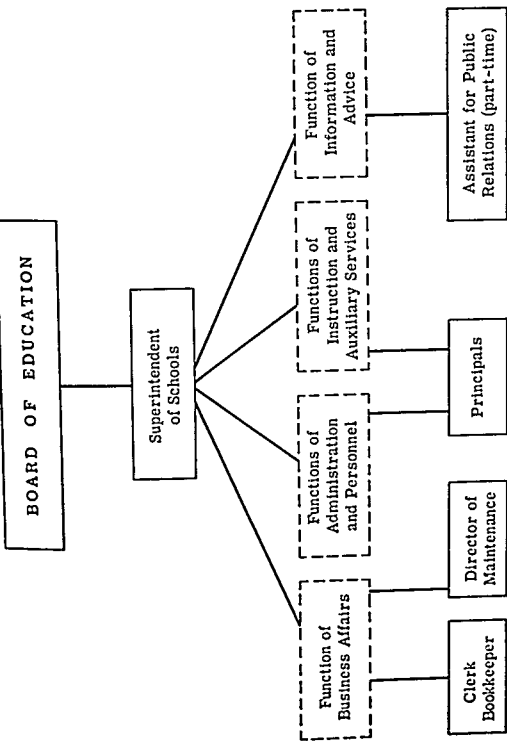
LIMITED CONTACTS WITH THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR—SMALL SCHOOL SYSTEM

This figure shows that the basic, major functions exist even in small school systems but will be handled by the superintendent rather than assistant superintendents as in large systems. At the same time the superintendent will lean upon principals, directors, clerks, and part-time assistants to share parts of his functions which in large cities might be carried by general officers, directors, and full-time specialists." (American Association of School Administrators, "The American School Superintendency," *Thirtieth Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1952, p. 78.)

tions of coördination. Now we turn to the accepted authorities for an interpretation of the principle. Mooney and Reiley write: "The principles of organization establish one chain of line of authority and one only. No clear and definite responsibility is attainable on any other basis." [11] After accepting this principle that one chain of line of authority is essential to organization, it follows that responsibilities can be determined logically and determined only by reasoning logically from this line of authority. It is further assumed, by various authorities, that this is inherently true for all organization: "Yet if we examined the structure of these forms of organization [the church, the state, the army or any other] we shall find that, however diverse their purposes, the underlying principles of organization are ever the same. . . . The term organization and the principles that govern it are inherent in every form of concerted effort, even when there are no more than two people involved." [12]

For some reason in the literature on educational organization writers seem to shy away from the traditional terminology but to assume the validity of the logic back of and to reason in terms of the hierarchical-scalar-chain principle. Frequent reference to the principle, however, appears in educational literature under such titles as "line and staff," "principles of span of control," "principle of limited contacts," and "principle of centralization." All these theories of logical organization are basically consistent with the hierarchical pattern. They accept the principle without question. Then they deal with details of application of the hierarchical principle. The nature of the logic followed is deserving of brief elaboration.

PRINCIPLE OF LIMITED CONTACTS. The principle of limited contacts is applied to the school system and charted by school administrators as follows:

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[11] James D. Mooney and Alan C. Reiley, *The Principles of Organization*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939, p. 179.

[12] James D. Mooney in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, *Papers on the Science of Administration*, New York: Columbia University, Institute on Public Administration, 1937, p. 91.

PRINCIPLE OF LINE AND STAFF. The principle of line and staff, as it is applied to the school, follows a similar logic. The so-called "line" refers to alignment of authority from the top ranking official to the bottom of the personnel—not, however, through a single line of contacts. The central personnel is organized in a single line of authority but a staff, organized within itself in a single line of authority similar to the organization of the main line personnel, exists to render special services to those who are part of the central organization. As the commander of an army has a special staff of experts to aid those who at a given level are in command, so also members of the general administrative personnel in the schools have such officers as director of budget, supervisor of social studies, director of curriculum, superintendent of buildings and grounds, and director of psychological services to aid them. The line and staff principle brings every aspect of the work of a school into a logically organized working plan. Each member of the personnel knows what he is to do and knows his level on the ladder of authority gradations. Confusion is eliminated.

PRINCIPLE OF CENTRALIZATION. Another principle utilized in the logical organization of schools is the principle of centralization which has some counterparts in the principles of line and staff, limited contacts, and span of control, and which incorporates some features of each of these.

Following the principle of centralization, it is reasoned that, since the school has a special function to perform and inasmuch as the activities of a personnel including many and diverse types of individuals must be harmonized, a supreme harmonizer is called for. This logic is well stated by Benjamin Floyd Pittenger:

One of the most significant features of the centralized plan is its assumption that school administration is a professional service and a "career" occupation as much as is teaching. Upon the chief administrator the centralized plan places personal responsibility for the success or failure of the school. To him it grants a corresponding measure of authority. It expects the chief administrator, in turn, to break up this authority and

The school superintendents quoted above assume that the major responsibilities of educational personnel can be determined and allocated on the basis of a logical code which accepts the hierarchical-scalar-chain principle as the basis for organizing. So far as interaction with the personnel in the organization is concerned, the superintendent of schools conceives of himself as effectively boxed in. Perhaps calling the hierarchical-scalar-chain principle as it applies to him under this theory the "principle of limited contacts" is rather apt!

PRINCIPLE OF SPAN OF CONTROL. The principle of span of control may be illustrated by the same chart since it follows the same line of logical reasoning. This assumes that, as one ascends the hierarchical scale, it is necessary to have fewer direct contacts with the personnel because as one ascends the scale, direct contacts with the personnel involve a progressively multiplying number of indirect relationships with subgroups. The same school administrators express this as follows: "When administrator X deals with assistants A, B, and C he must recognize not only the three individuals and the groups ABC, but also the subgroups AB, AC, and BC. When the group enlarges to six or seven persons, the number of cross relationships and subgroups are multiplied many times." [13] Another illustration of the same line of reasoning is given by Luther Gulick:

In this undertaking, we are confronted at the start by the inexorable limits of human nature. Just as the hand of man can span only a limited number of notes on the piano, so the mind and will of man can span but a limited number of immediate managerial contacts. . . . The limit of control is partly a matter of the limits of knowledge, but even more is it a matter of the limits of time and energy. As a result the executive of any enterprise can personally direct only a few persons. He must depend upon these to direct others, and upon them in turn to direct still others, until the last man in the organization is reached. [14]

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 73.
[14] Luther Gulick in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, *Papers on the Science of Administration,* New York: Columbia University, Institute on Public Administration, 1937, p. 7.

logical codes, and its channels cannot be logically predetermined from a hierarchical principle. Participation is substantially a nonlogical phenomenon. The logical arrangements of an organizational pattern do not unite individuals into a functional group. It is the nonlogical factors—the feelings, sentiments, and attitudes involved in personal satisfactions, identification, and interaction that bring the group together and consolidate and integrate it.

Logical organization established in terms of some kind of hierarchical principle by its very nature cannot provide for or utilize those highly varying nonlogical personal factors involved in personnel participation. A rigid hierarchical plan of educational organization is an unsatisfactory setting for the achievement of maximum participation because effective participation must be broad and flexible and the course of human interactions must be as unhampered as possible by the kind of barriers which are imposed by logical organization.

What are some of the characteristics of participation which make it nonlogical? In the first place, participation is a function of people working in groups, and people, especially as they work in groups, behave largely in terms of their attitudes and their emotions. Emotions and attitudes are nonlogical and since the actions they stimulate tend also to be nonlogical, participation tends to be nonlogical. Because participation is nonlogical, the results of participation are largely unpredictable. The personal, affective factors are frequently so potent in participation that the consequences which would normally accrue from logical reasoning are not at all the consequences which result from group participation. A nonlogical conclusion which is the product of group participation and which incorporates the effects of the impact of personal emotions, attitudes, and prejudices is, however, more desirable, for that group, than a logical conclusion which has not been affected by emotions and attitudes of a group of participants. Roethlisberger says:

The human being is a social animal and a social animal is not merely —in fact, is very seldom—motivated by matters pertaining strictly to fact or logic. However, to conclude from this statement that therefore all hu-

responsibility into appropriate paired portions and pass them along to his principal administrative aids. These chief assistants are also assumed to be specialized, "career" people, who, in their turn, will subdivide their share of authority and responsibility and pass the subdivisions along to their immediate, specialized subordinates. In this way centers of authority and responsibility, each the individual assignment of a specialist, will develop in a hierarchical arrangement throughout the system. In fact, they will comprise the system. Central to all, and also in control at every center, will be a professional administrator who is making of his particular type of assignment a life work. This is the ideal objective, the logical unfoldment of the centralized administrative plan.[15]

Notice that neither this plan nor any of the others gives any suggestion as to how participation can be promoted or how collaboration among members of the personnel is to be accomplished. Supreme authority is vested in the administrator at the top and at his discretion he will divide his authority and pass it along to his subordinates. The fact that those with authority are so-called "career" people seems to justify their power and their control.

The consequence of organizing along lines determined logically by some principle derived from the hierarchical principle is the erection of a serious limitation upon the possibility of achieving effective participation, especially as it includes the top executive and his immediate subordinates. Since effective participation is vital to maximum group achievement and to wholesome personnel relations we are concerned to know why achieving participation is ignored in the popular, logical plans and what can be done about it.

Nonlogical Codes

The reason that the problem of achieving fullscale personal participation is not solved, that it is in fact ignored by the logical systems developed in terms of some principle consistent with the scalar-chain principle, is readily discovered. Because of its very nature, effective participation cannot be encompassed within

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[15] Benjamin Floyd Pittenger, *Local Public School Administration*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951, p. 52.

did decide such matters. Perhaps logically the decision about cleaning the draperies belonged with an individual who had authority because of his position in an organizational pattern and perhaps, logically also, the cleaning of draperies should not be an official expense. However, if participation had provided opportunity for interaction between teachers and business manager, the problem might have been settled to the satisfaction of both groups. The superintendent and other administrative officers in this school system were highly efficient in organizational matters which they consistently handled in an impersonal manner. However, when citizens of this same school district voted heavily against a sixteen-cent raise in the relatively modest school tax limit, it seemed evident that the citizens did not feel a personal identification with the projects the school proposed to finance through extra tax funds. As pointed out in the chapter on attitudes, voters frequently vote non-logically, and according to their sentiments. A frugal and well-intentioned business manager may present very logical reasons in support of a request for additional tax money. If, however, perhaps by attempting to adhere unduly to the logical and thereby un-wittingly acting with disregard of attitudes and sentiments, school officials have weakened their public relations, the most logical appeal for support is likely to be ineffective.

Quoting from rules gives logical support to an administrator's stand on a controversy but it does nothing to change or even affect the feelings of the personnel about the matter at hand. Citing a rule shifts responsibility to an ultimate authority and is a logical procedure, but unfortunately it overlooks the important human aspects of the problem. If the rule is judged unjust by the personnel, whether it actually is or not, and if they have no opportunity to participate in either changing the rule or gaining understanding and appreciation of its value, they will resent the rule, and quoting it as a standard for settling controversies or making decisions will have an adverse effect on relations, especially relations between administrators and teachers, regardless of the logical authority behind the rule or regulation.

man responses not strictly logical are illogical or irrational is a false distinction. Most human behavior is neither logical nor irrational; it is nonlogical; that is to say, it is motivated by sentiment. To eliminate such nonlogical conduct would be to destroy all values and significances, everything which for most of us makes life worth living.[16]

Participation is nonlogical also because it is interwoven with group norms which, because of the manner by which they are established, are nonlogical. In participation, an individual reflects his personal feelings, which are in turn closely related to the feelings of the group, group ideas of what is correct action, group norms. In one high school the men teachers have a clubroom where they rest, read, visit, smoke, play cards, billiards, or other games. In a neighboring high school smoking and playing games would be censured. To participate in the life of one of the schools, to be integrated with that group, the teachers behave in a way which would, in the other high school, lead to estrangement from the group.

Since participation is nonlogical, the promotion of participation does not logically occur as a spontaneous follow-up to an organizational plan. Unfortunately, under a logical organization the tendency is to settle differences and make decisions in terms of logical codes established externally. A group of elementary teachers requested that the draperies which were in their classrooms as a result of a teacher-parent project to improve the appearance of the rooms, be cleaned. The principal relayed the request to the business agent of the school system, who answered categorically that, since the school board regulations did not specifically include the cleaning of draperies among the legitimate expenditures, the draperies must not be cleaned at public expense. That the children, the parents, the teachers, and the principal had strong feelings about the draperies being cleaned at someone's expense other than their own was disregarded wholly by the young business agent. The teachers who used the rooms where the draperies hung had had no opportunity to participate in deciding what items should be included in official expenses and had no direct communication with the authorities who

[16] Roethlisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

that form of organization is best which provides for coördination in terms of function and which incorporates only enough of hierarchical authority to maintain the basic organizational structure. Under such a plan, function determines power and the allocation of function belongs with the group and is dynamically determined in terms of the group's purposes. The acquisition of power is a strong motivation in man's life. If we desire that a teacher find his power in group function and enjoy shared power instead of being subjected to authoritative power, then we must see that the teacher has the privileges and the responsibilities that accompany participation. We cannot achieve such participation in an educational organization hampered by the barriers of social distance imposed by a logical hierarchical organizational code.

Organization Favorable to Achieving Participation

Participation, a nonlogical phenomenon, cannot be successfully achieved in an organization logically organized in terms of the hierarchical-scalar-chain principle. What can be done in a traditional school organization to make it more favorable to the achievement of participation?

MINIMUM RANKS. As established in our study of some principles of organization, some hierarchical arrangement is typical of and accepted by all social groups. In an educational personnel group the hierarchy should be as simple as possible, as flexible as possible, and the chain of authority as short as possible. The discrepancies between the professional training of teachers and the professional training of administrators are progressively diminishing. Educational positions demanding special administrative or other talents and career training need no longer be the prize possessions of a few.

By gradually relinquishing the policy of ranking certain educational functions above others—actually putting teaching, which is perhaps the most difficult and certainly the most vital, at the bottom —and distinguishing the differences in rank with such rewards and

It is impossible for logical codes in organization to afford appropriate emphasis to the nonlogical activities of participation. In fact, logically organized structures of authority serve to impede participation. Systems of ranks, titles, special privileges, salary differentials, and status which are a regular part of the scalar-rank-order system create an almost insurmountable social distance between the highest in personnel rank and the lowest. Logical organization makes the promotion of participatory relationships exceedingly difficult at any of the levels within the organization. Such limitations are not confined to educational organizations but are generally true for most social organizations. After careful study of this problem, Mayo expresses his generalization: "The human fact that emerges from these or any other studies is that, while material efficiency has been increasing for two hundred years, the human capacity for working together has in the same period continually diminished. Of late, the pace of this deterioration seems to have accelerated." [17] Limiting shared participation at all levels of organization deprives the school of many of the resources of the personnel —capacities and potential contributions are sacrificed to a logical plan of organization. The personal loss to individual members by virtue of their limited participation is as devastating as is the loss to the group as a whole.

Not only do the limitations on personnel caused by the barriers erected in a logical organizational plan result in the impoverishment of the group and the individual, they also have other adverse effects. Those lower in status and rank tend to develop a general distaste for the authority of those higher on the scale and to transfer the dislike to authority itself regardless of where it is located or with whom. Assaults upon authority are a well-recognized current social phenomenon.

The logical code further encourages those who possess authority to become enamored of their power and desirous of adding to it. Organization has a great deal to do with the distribution of power. As was outlined in the chapter on the principles of organization,

[17] Roethlisberger, *op. cit.*, p. xvi, in Foreword by Elton Mayo.

tion are many. To be effective in achieving participation, the functions of school administrators must be an integral part of a setting which is friendly to united group action. In this setting group action is the customary procedure. The personnel is accustomed to fluent interchange and joint endeavor. Unfortunately, the educational organization is frequently favorable to personnel participation interpreted as maximum group sharing in such matters as curriculum, methods of teaching, student evaluation, and evaluation of the school's academic program, but a barrier is arbitrarily established which eliminates the extension of participatory activities to include decisions on such organizational matters as salary schedules, sick leave, allocations of functions especially as they are related to authority and control, and the determination of other values which actually shape the relations of the individuals who share the work of the school. The organization is such that the personnel is expected to refer the hard causes to Moses, but the small matters they may judge for themselves.

Freedom and flexibility are essential to maximum group sharing. For the organization to be favorable to achieving participation, then, it must be progressive, and organizational limitations on participation must be the product of group study and agreement, a natural part of role interpretation. Custom and group norms will influence significantly the extent that the community and the personnel are expected to participate in determining certain school policies and in sharing in particular school activities. This is inevitable. It is desirable because group norms, normally, are modified as changes occur in opinions and understandings within the group. As the norms change, the limitations or extent of group participation may also change. The unfortunate organizational limitations on participation are those which are arbitrarily established by an external authority. These are not subject to the natural modifications which may be expected, and perhaps desired, as a result of group action. The limitations on participation externally imposed upon the group are evidences that participation and organization are not accepted as mutual correlatives. In order to have the most favorable climate for administrative success in achieving participa-

privileges that change is stymied, social barriers which handicap participation can be minimized.

Grade schools, for instance, might well have but two ranks, principal and teachers. Perhaps some time in the future the principal might even come from the teaching ranks and after having served the group for a short period, return to the teaching ranks. Even when a principal he might remain a teaching principal.

Eventually resource teachers, or special teachers, might well be on a level with all the other teachers as far as status, privileges, prestige, and salary are concerned. A supervisor's role then would be that of teacher's helper and fellow teacher rather than overseer, and both supervisor and teacher would participate as equal personalities in the work of the school. In some schools now resource teachers are not called supervisors, and although a seemingly unimportant factor, this has had rather important effects upon the nature of collaboration.

BROAD SCOPE OF PARTICIPATION. Besides having a school organization which provides only a minimum number of ranks, in order to be most favorably organized for the achievement of personnel participation, the organization must be built on an understanding of participation conceived in very broad terms. Participation must be assumed to have a very wide application.

The definition of an educational organization given in the chapter on principles of organization states: "An educational organization is a progressive series of mutual understandings or tacit agreements among those who are responsible for the work of the school concerning the coördination of their respective efforts." This implies that, in the developing school organization, all who are responsible for the work of the school shall share in deriving the understandings and agreements. It means that the relationship of participation and organization is a cycle. The developing organization has its roots in participation and is obligated to provide participation opportunities for the personnel and also, to the extent of their capacities, for children, students, parents, and others in the community who share the work of the school.

The responsibilities of administrative leadership in this connec-

system. We read: "A new atmosphere is emerging in the schools. Here is one more advance in local autonomy—still wider freedom for local leadership—a sharpened stimulus for local action—a growing departure from centralization. Local problems are being perceived, met, and solved at the local level. The central office is becoming more a resource for help rather than a source of directives." [19]

LEADERSHIP AND ACHIEVING PARTICIPATION

A school with a simple organizational structure, with minimum emphasis on rank differential, and with a tradition of accepting organization and participation in a circular relationship cannot achieve effective participation without the vital spark which is provided only through appropriate interpretation of the leadership role. For an educational personnel to achieve unity, integrated purposes, and fluent interaction, adequate leadership is essential. Desirable interpretation of the leadership role will show that the leader, whether he be a school principal, a teacher serving as a committee chairman, a president of a P.T.A., or some other leader, has a sound philosophical conviction that he has a sincere personal feeling of membership with the group, that he is himself an active participant. Such an educational leader must be skilled in the leader-specific methods of participation. He must not look upon his leadership as a private prerogative and his key to power and control.

Ethical Concept

In an educational organization each member of the teaching and administrative personnel has a leadership role to fulfill. Participation may be an experience of the classroom, the committee meeting, the faculty meeting, or the PTA gathering. What is here said about leadership for wholesome participation therefore applies to all

[19] "Rebirth of the Local School," *Education Progress*, a publication of the Chicago Public Schools, December, 1955.

tion, participation and organization within the school must be accepted as having this mutual correlative relationship.

SIMPLE STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENTS.   In addition to minimizing ranks and decreasing their differences, it is important, in the interests of achieving participation, that other features of the organizational structure also be kept as simple as possible. A simple organizational structure is not only less confining to the personnel, but the details of its operation are likely to have more nearly unanimous group understanding and acceptance and are more readily adapted to group desires and purposes through group action. In a choice of organizational structure, other things being equal, preference should always be given to the simple structure because it is the simple structure which favors achieving participation and is more sensitive to the effects of participation.

Size of the school or school system is related to success in achieving simplicity in structural arrangements. Simplicity is most readily achieved in the smaller school system or the neighborhood school which is a part of the larger school system. Suburban communities surrounding large cities have been most successful in achieving community-wide participation. They are not only small communities but they are good communities as judged by Thorndike's criteria for good communities.[18] The salutary effect of simple structures of organization upon direct communication and free interchange is well illustrated by the success such communities have had in achieving community-wide participation. In large city school systems, where simplicity is usually difficult to achieve, participation has been most successfully effected in units composed of a single school and its school neighborhood. Here the lines of intercourse may be kept direct. The size of the group and area of the community favor the operation of an integrated group with a unity of purpose centered in the school.

This simplicity of organization and decentralization is illustrated somewhat by school communities within the Chicago public school

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[18] See Edward Lee Thorndike, *Man and His Works*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1943, Chapter X.

must result in general agreement as to the leader's role in participation. Since coöperation and interaction are obstructed if members of the group behave in terms of dominance ethics, in order to achieve effective participation, group agreement as to the leadership role of any given member must have its foundation in the personal ethics of coöperation. As Tufts describes it: "Cooperation implies some sort of equality, some mutual relation." Coöperative ethics require that all members of the group recognize their equality, recognize that each is equally affected by the institution of which he is a part, that each must have an equal opportunity to express his judgment, to develop his own talents, and to make his contribution to the welfare of the institution. As Dewey expressed it: "The democratic faith in equality is the faith that each individual shall have the chance and opportunity to contribute whatever he is capable of contributing and that the value of his contribution be decided by its place and function in the organized total of similar contributions, not on the basis of prior status of any kind whatever." [22]

The contribution of each individual and the "interchange, currents flowing in both directions" are participatory phenomena which can occur best only where the group follows a system of ethics which is coöperative in essence. Such a system of ethics must recognize the value of participation as an integral process of education and as an indispensable procedure in wholesome and effective school group action, including the delineation of the leader's role.

Narrow Interpretations

Statements like the following are rather common in discussions on school administration:

Whether we consider the superintendent, or his staff, or the separate schools, or the school board, the primary and guiding concern of organized education is the proper development of the pupils. *Everything connected with the whole school system centers in this one thing, the*

[22] John Dewey, *Problems of Men*, New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1946, p. 60.

members of the personnel as they discharge leadership functions in various group activities. It is leadership in the administration of the school that is being considered, not necessarily leadership of the administrator.

Leadership may be conceived as external domination, domination from above made possible through power and authority. Leadership may be conceived as domination by the group, achieved through indigenous strength. A third conception of leadership, and the one that is most friendly to achieving participation, conceives leadership as intelligent direction which rises out of the process of participation itself.

The ethics underlying these three concepts are, respectively, the ethics of dominance, the ethics of competition, and the ethics of coöperation. The following statements from a lecture which James H. Tufts gave on the Weinstock Foundation at the University of California in 1918 set forth the reasons why the third conception of leadership and its basic ethics of coöperation are essential to leadership for participation: [20]

Coöperation implies some sort of equality, some mutual relation. It does not exclude difference in ability and function. It does not exclude leadership, for leadership is usually necessary to make coöperation effective. . . . In coöperation there is interchange, currents flowing in both directions, contacts of mutual sympathy, rather than of pride-humility, condescension-servility. The purpose of coöperation is joint. Whether originally suggested by some leader of thought and action, or whether a composite of many suggestions in the give and take of discussion or in experience of common need, it is weighed and adopted as a common end. It is not the work or possession of leaders alone, but embodies in varying degrees the work and active interest of all.[21]

Tufts recognizes shared participation as the most important of all methods for widening and deepening social understandings, appreciations, and skills. Interaction, an essential part of participation,

[20] For a complete analysis of coöperative techniques see *Citizen Coöperation for Better Schools,* Fifty-Third Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1954.
[21] James H. Tufts, *The Ethics of Coöperation,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918, pp. 5–7.

General Guides

Assuming that the leader has a coöperative ethical basis for his behavior and that the group generally has the same ethical concept of conduct, and assuming also that the leader is well acquainted with and skilled in the use of the various specific techniques for participation, what are the general guides for making the discharge of his leadership responsibility effective in that he secures satisfactory participation, participation which allows maximum sharing by all members of the group to the extent of their capacities?

MEMBERSHIP. In the first place, any interpretation of the leader's role should not reduce the need also to emphasize the membership role of the leader. The leader will not serve as a judge from the outside but as an active participator, along with being a critic and judge. He will continue to be identified with the group, will share its purposes, be influenced by its norms and influence its norms, will be responsibly affected by its decisions and actions. The feeling of membership tends to be affected less by the introduction of the leadership function if the leadership role is a temporary one and if it is not reinforced by position of rank on a scalar chain.[24]

The school administrator who has a leadership function to perform in group participation may lose sight of his membership and reduce his identification and sharing with the group because of an attachment to the school administrative position. Actually, the administrator, in order to be maximally effective, should be as much a member of the group as any one of the teachers and as open to influence by the teachers as they are to influence by him. Frequently the administrator's leadership barrier to interaction is intensified by the fact that teachers tend to identify themselves with teacher groups which are closed to administrators, and administrators are prone to identify themselves with administrative groups which are separated from teachers. The notion often expressed in the literature that functionaries working at different levels in the educational

[24] For an interesting analysis of the chasm which often exists between leader and group, see Margaret Mary Wood, *op. cit.*, Chapter V.

educative development of the pupils. For that, the budget exists; for that, everything is done that is properly done; for that, the superintendent receives his salary, a larger salary than the others get because it is believed this differential best promises to promote the purpose for which he is paid, namely, to advance the better education of the young.[23]

This kind of pronouncement which focuses exclusively on the educational function of an organized school is frequently interpreted in a way which leads to disproportionate emphasis on the narrower problems of school administration. The interpretation tends to encourage limiting participation to such problems as curriculum, marks, class size, reports to parents, promotion, and the like. The wider problems, namely, how the educational leader can function so that human collaboration through wide-scale participation will become an effective reality and a pupil, teacher, parent experience, tends to suffer from lack of specific attention.

Actually the realization of effective participation makes perhaps the most significant contribution to the education of the young although *its beneficial effects are not limited to the children. It also* contributes to the personal satisfactions and desirable relations of the personnel and to their all-round effectiveness, to the integration of the school community, and to a strengthening of the human resources of the school. Stating the objectives of the school so emphatically in terms of the children need not exclude the achievement of participation as a purpose because effective participation does directly and indirectly contribute to the welfare of children. Stating the objectives of the school in these emphatic terms sometimes leads to unfortunate results, however, because in interpreting the statement wider functions of the school tend to be relatively neglected. Neglecting the potentialities of wide-scale participation because of a consuming concern with narrower aspects of the school program impoverishes leadership and reduces the effectiveness of the group—especially its effectiveness in achieving the best human relations.

[23] William Heard Kilpatrick, *Philosophy of Education*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951, p. 331.

sonal satisfactions, and usually, in addition, is more successful in a practical sense in terms of group purposes.

SPECIFIC STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENTS

Some specific structural arrangements are established, at least in part, for the purpose of making participation a regular and accepted part of the school's activities. Among the more common of these are parent-teacher associations, teacher councils, various teachers' organizations, citizens' advisory committees, open school board meetings, and community councils.

Parent-Teacher Associations

Perhaps the most common of the structural arrangements to provided a channel for expanded participation is the parent-teacher association, popularly called the PTA. Of all the structural arrangements perhaps the PTA potentially is best suited to the achievement of wholesome and effective participation.

Nationally the PTA has been organized with great skill to provide for fluent communication and to foster wide contributions. The policies of the organization with respect to the activities which are the essence of participation have been carefully formulated and publicized. At every point the program and procedures of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers parallel good educational procedure. Because excellent leadership throughout its history has emphasized participation, the PTA has many times been termed the greatest folk movement of the present century. The possibilities for participation may be estimated from the fact that membership in the national organization of PTA has exceeded ten million.

The National Congress is composed of representatives of the state congresses which work closely with state problems and also work closely with local school PTA groups. Often the local school system has a PTA Council which serves to coördinate all the PTA

organization should be specialized "career" people emphasizes this separateness in relationship.

POWER. In order for an administrator, or any other leader who is functioning in a participatory situation, to maintain his feeling of complete membership with the group, it is necessary that he recognize that his power and authority are something which he attains through the group and shares with the group. This means that the leadership position must not be used as an opportunity or excuse for domination, influence of the gullible, or manipulation of the unscrupulous for leader-desired ends. The leader's power is the power to promote coöperation and his strength and position are related to the strength and achievements of the group. In other words, the leader who is to achieve maximum participation will not exert his will over the group and by virtue of his position get others to follow him. He will not ask people to serve him but to serve the common end. He will not have followers but men and women working with him.

In addition to being cognizant of the fact that the leader's power must be power shared with the group and derived from the group and not a coercive force over the group, it is highly important for the achievement of maximum participation that the leader be sensitive to the potentialities of all members of the group and skilled at calling forth latent capacities and uniting the powers of the group into a constructive force. This means that the leader must be skilled at creating a climate which is conducive to initiative. He must know how to draw from each all that each has to give. He will encourage in each a feeling of responsibility. He will also challenge each to contribute maximum creative powers to the group project. He will not suppress deviators among the staff in an effort to create uniformity. He will be liberal in his attitude toward constructive criticism. The leader will need to discriminate among varying contributions, to subordinate some to others, and to see what they all may mean together. His ability to minimize his own influence and power in the interests of encouraging maximum contributions from the group is highly important in advancing group unity and per-

selves with the teachers' council or some other group and do not effectively discharge the responsibility necessary to successful participation is like keeping an individual away from the water because he cannot swim. If the end is worthy, a successful administrative technique or an appropriate structural arrangement will lead to its realization.

The superintendents express their disappointment with teacher participation:

During the past two decades school administrators have been groping toward a more democratic type of administrative leadership. . . . It starts with the administrator and his willingness to respect both the individual member of the staff and the value of group thinking and acting. . . . It does mean that the administrator *leans* toward group consideration and that he deliberately seeks to extend the opportunities for his staff to deliberate and to work together. It implies that those affected by a policy in an important way should have a share in developing it, although the sharing may be through representation rather than by direct participation of each individual concerned. . . . Democratic administration assumes that persons who have a share in developing a policy will support that policy when it has been adopted whether it is a compromise with what they desired, opposed to what they sought, or furnishes the procedure they favored. All too frequently, however, classroom teachers, principals, and other school personnel have been unwilling to support policies that were not identical with their own desires. Consequently, the development of democratic participation has been retarded because of the failure to understand or unwillingness to accept the implications of participation. . . .[25]

Even when teachers' councils have been successful in achieving teacher participation they have sometimes actually been a handicap to participation conceived in its wider school-group sense. Paul Mort says: ". . . and even the existence of an excellent teachers' council cannot be thought of as meeting the full measure of demands of the democratic principle even as far as teachers are concerned and usually has little or no bearing on participation of pupils, parents, or public at large. Such plans, formally recognized in the

groups of individual schools with the state and national congresses. The local PTA organizations participate in many and diverse activities including variously constituted study groups which tackle such problems as lunch programs, transportation, reports to parents, health programs, and recreation.

Because administrative educational guidance is essential to securing maximum participation through the PTA the principal of a local school should look upon himself as ex-officio president of the local organization. This is important because, first, by virtue of experience and study, he can advise wisely; second, he knows the problems of the school most intimately; third, the teachers participate only in reference to how he participates; and fourth, the parents inevitably associate him with everything the school attempts. Furthermore, the program of the National Congress of the PTA has recognized administrators as points of entree to the school. Where the PTA functions weakly or where the program does not achieve the objectives of the National Congress, more often than not, the cause is inexpert direction on the part of the principal and where this is the case one of the most valuable opportunities to improve relationships through widespread participation is neglected.

Teachers' Councils

The typical teachers' council is a group of representative teachers chosen by their colleagues to express, in meeting with administrative officers, the point of view of the teaching and service staffs about school policies. The theoretical values attributed to teachers' councils as a structural arrangement for assuring teacher participation have generally not been realized in practical experience. School administrators evidence a desire for some kind of structural arrangement which will facilitate teacher participation. The administrators seem to feel that the common failure of teachers to participate through teachers' councils is the result, for the most part, of deficiencies in the teachers themselves.

As stated previously, skill in participation is learned. Limiting teacher participation because teachers do not fully identify them-

division in the school group as a whole and thereby increase the leader's difficulty in achieving wholesome and effective school-wide participation.

Perhaps if the barriers to achieving participation which are imposed by traditional hierarchical organization were eliminated there would still be a need for a particular group of school personnel to organize a pressure group. Even though expert school administration eliminated the necessity for teachers to organize to influence financial or some other school policy, the adventitious functions various teacher organizations serve in socializing the profession would not necessarily be obviated.

Advisory Committees

As a structural arrangement for facilitating the participation of citizens in school affairs, citizens' advisory committees of various kinds have been more or less successful. Perhaps the best known of these, and the one which has had the widest scope, was one of the first—the National Advisory Committee appointed by President Herbert Hoover in 1929. This committee consisted of fifty-two laymen and educators who were charged with the responsibility of making recommendations with respect to public education including, most especially, fiscal policies. A similar committee was appointed in 1936 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt because of the complaints by organized labor about the administration of the Smith-Hughes Act. Both these committees, with a specific function and limited tenure, were successful in making recommendations which have received widespread attention. They provide an example for an organizational pattern to encompass citizens in school business.

Since the time of Hoover's Advisory Committee an increasing number of school systems have utilized citizens' advisory committees. In 1952 the superintendents wrote:

An ever growing number of superintendents have developed citizens' advisory committees either to assist on a special project or to serve as a continuing advisory group. Such a committee serves as a two-way system

administrative machinery, are probably of greatest value in assuring a minimum of democracy in dealing with teachers." [26]

It seems evident that the value of teachers' councils as structural arrangements for achieving participation is open to question and depends upon such factors as the desires and skill of the administrator, the broad lines of the complete participation picture, and the understandings and appreciations of the teachers themselves, which depend to an extent on their school participation experience.

Typical Teacher Organizations

Besides teachers' councils there are numerous other teacher organizations. The National Education Association, organizations of teachers in various subject matter groups, the organization of classroom teachers, and teachers' unions are more or less typical.

Unions of local teachers are generally affiliated with national labor organizations and are usually found only in larger communities where there are strong labor unions. Local teachers' unions function mainly to influence school financial policies. They have, however, also been effective in influencing other factors related to staff welfare. Many of their achievements have been important and socially desirable. There are many convincing arguments both for and against teachers' unions. [27]

Typical teacher organizations, including teacher unions, usually provide an opportunity for teachers to enjoy the personal advantages of group activity, at least in the local unit. Such group activity leads to a feeling of kinship and belongingness which may contribute toward wholesome relations among the teachers in a school, a community, or a teaching field. If the organization is largely a protest group or if it tends to overstress identification of individuals with a special group separated from the broad educational group, there is the danger that the organization will foster

[26] Paul Mort, *Principles of School Administration*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946, p. 111.

[27] See American Association of School Administrators, "The American School Superintendency," *Thirtieth Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1952, pp. 239–240.

School Boards

The structural arrangement created by legislative act which provides the governing body for the schools, which provides for official functioning of lay individuals representing the public together with the professional school administrator, is the school board or local board of education. Typically its functions include formulating and adopting broad policies for the conduct of local education, adopting the budget, determining employment policies, and making contracts. Legally, most school boards may conduct business through regular and special meetings which may be open or may be closed to the public upon the discretion of the board.

Since the board is conducting public business there are strong arguments and feelings against conducting school business in secret. The school board has its best opportunity to exert educational leadership in the community when its meetings are not only open meetings but when they are conducted in a manner which encourages active participation by both teachers and public. Traditionally, open school board meetings and the broadened participation they provide have not been favored by theorists in public school administration. When Ellwood P. Cubberley conducted a survey of the Salt Lake City schools in 1916, one of his recommendations was that the school board of ten be reduced to five so that the board: ". . . could meet in a much smaller room and around a single table, and with much more board and little or no committee action, would handle the educational business more quietly, more expeditiously and more efficiently . . . and with fewer conflicts of its executive officers and fewer reversals of its actions." [30] There has been a trend, however, toward greater use of the open school board meeting. When school board accomplishments are judged in terms of human relations and other long-term results, the school boards which encourage public and personnel participation seem generally superior.

If the school board is sincere in its desire to have the public par-

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[30] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *A Concrete Study Based on the Salt Lake City Schools Survey*, New York: World Book Company, 1916, pp. 34–35.

of communication to inform an ever-widening group of citizens about
the school. . . . It also keeps the school administrator informed about
the beliefs of the citizens and brings to him their ideas. In no sense do
the advisory committees supersede or infringe on the prerogatives of the
board of education, which alone can set policies and make official deci-
sions. It can only assist the board in crystallizing its opinions. . . . Such
groups have no official status, are formed with the consent of the board,
are free to deliberate on all questions of an impersonal nature relating
to the schools.[28]

As with participation in general, the effectiveness of participation
through citizens' advisory groups both in terms of its practical
accomplishments and in terms of its effects on human relations, is
dependent upon the nature of role interpretation within the group
and upon other factors which are related directly to the ego involve-
ment, identification, and responsibility of the individuals who com-
prise the group. The advisory committee must feel that the task it
assumes is significant, that the decisions it reaches will have in-
fluence, and that the contribution of each member will help to
shape these decisions. It is only when the members of the advisory
committee share this kind of feeling that they will make their
maximum potential contribution and be completely identified with
the group.[29] In other words, despite the legal limitations on their
prerogatives, a successful citizens' advisory committee feels that it is,
and actually is, something more than a glorified debating society
organized for purposes of oratory or discussion and designed mainly
to provide an avenue of communication between school and public.
To be successful in advancing human relations, the advisory com-
mittee must feel that its participation is significant because its
influence is effective and can be readily discerned in practical
results within the school. Pseudo participation not only discourages
the individuals who are part of the advisory committee but can be
potentially very damaging to school-public relations generally.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 155.
[29] For an example of how some organizations exploit advisory committees
see Thomas H. Briggs, "I Must Resign," *School and Society*, April 17, 1954,
pp. 113–116.

differences represented within the group serves also to limit the points of view represented and to narrow the divergence of under-standings and opinions included among the contributions. Never-theless, the value of the small group of personnel in school participation should not be overlooked. In the chapter on attitudes it was shown that typically teachers have a very favorable attitude toward working in small groups.

Constructive criticism and evaluation, school planning, and solv-ing many school problems can be conveniently and successfully channeled through the small faculty group. As with participation generally, the interpretation of the leadership role in the small faculty group is important in the achievements of the group. The successful small group has a leader who skilfully encourages max-imum individual contribution and who assumes a personal re-sponsibility for whatever follow-up may be necessary in terms of the group's deliberation and for final action. Superintendents who have had groups of teachers participate in planning special provi-sions in new school buildings—utilizing home economics teachers to help plan the home economics units, science teachers to help plan the science laboratories, and the like, have been impressed not only with the wise counsel such groups gave but also with the fine coöperation of all the individuals in working out the overall plans. The success of such participation is due, at least in part, to the fact that the group is of appropriate size and that the members share an interest and a concern.

Faculty Meetings

The faculty meeting is the last of the structural arrangements examined for its relation to achieving participation. The faculty meeting differs from the structural arrangements like the PTA, ad-visory committees, and teachers' councils in that the faculty meet-ing is not set up principally to obtain better and more representative participation. Participation is usually only one of the lesser functions to be served by the faculty meeting. Achieving par-

ticipate in its meetings it will do more than announce that the meetings are open to the public. It will provide direct invitation to persons who by position or association will be interested, and to representatives of organizations whose main functions are directly related to school welfare. It will also provide a room suitable for an open meeting. In such a room school officers will not be completely separated from the public as officials are separated from the public in a municipal court where the public is expected just to witness what goes on. Besides having a room which makes the public a part of the school board group, the presiding officer will make those present conscious of the fact that they are participating members of the group by making it obvious that their opinions and suggestions are desired and by giving consideration to all contributions in taking final action.

The open school board meeting serves also to keep the public informed about the work and the problems of the school. The meetings may be followed by communications to the parents or items in the newspapers to which the public will have opportunity to react or respond at a future open school board meeting. When an open school board meeting is a regular feature of the school program communication between the school officials and the public is a two-way current and participation is but a natural concomitant.

Small Faculty Groups

Sometimes the organizational structure of the school includes provisions for meetings of various small faculty groups. Usually such groups comprise the personnel of a particular department, teachers of a particular grade, those directly involved in some specific aspect of the school's work or affairs, or representative individuals meeting to serve some particular function.

Intimate concern with a particular problem or phase of the school's program gives the small group a degree of homogeneity and facilitates the integration and identification aspects of participation. Of course, it must be remembered, narrowing the range of

with personnel and public participation tend to foster participation only under certain favorable circumstances.

First, the membership of the group encompassed by the structure must have an appropriate degree of congeniality and homogeneity.

Second, the functions served must be of concern to the entire membership and each individual can achieve identification with these functions through the participation experience.

Third, the structure provides for desirable interpretation of the leadership role—and at best the leadership is skilled in recognizing potentialities and in encouraging members to make maximum contribution in terms of potential ability.

Fourth, the structure affords the group evidence of the effects of the results of its participation. The group has an opportunity to observe the influence of participation on the program and procedures of the school. Its recommendations may not always be carried out but that they have received serious consideration is unmistakable.

A structural arrangement which is allowed to persist after its functions have been served and its usefulness, as measured by concrete results, is scant, actually may obstruct more timely participation procedures. The school principal who feels that the faculty meeting should follow traditional lines, must be held regularly, and that attendance must be required does not encourage participation through this structural arrangement. By sticking to the traditional faculty meeting he, in fact, may discourage participation in other school groups, partly because of the limitations on time and partly because a structural arrangement which ignores participation in fulfilling its main functions serves to foster an attitude of detachment. If some members of the personnel have an attitude of detachment toward the faculty group they have a handicap toward achieving complete identification in any other school group.

Each structural arrangement must be judged in terms of the particular group and specific functions it serves. If participation is a desired end of the structural arrangement, the appropriateness of

ticipation, however, is important at least potentially as one function of the faculty meeting.

In the study on attitudes referred to earlier, teachers and principals alike reported that they held faculty meetings in low esteem for the achievement of any of the purposes covered by the study.[31] As described earlier, those faculty meetings which have been planned primarily to promote faculty participation have frequently been called something like "institute," "workshop," or "retreat." This seems to indicate that administrators themselves have relinquished hope that widespread participation can be achieved through the traditional faculty meeting which primarily serves other functions.

Many reasons such as undesirable size of the group, lack of careful planning, failure to discuss issues vital to every member of the faculty, lack of representation of outside persons who are concerned and could contribute to faculty deliberation, lack of time both for preliminary canvass of problems and to hold the faculty meetings have been advanced in explanation for the fact that the faculty meeting has not served as a structural arrangement for achieving maximum participation. Perhaps no two schools would make identical explanations, but it seems generally agreed that, to obtain widespread participation, the traditional faculty meeting to which teachers and principals are resigned as an avenue for announcements, administrative business, and the infliction of committee reports must undergo radical changes before it can successfully serve in the achievement of participation.

Some Generalizations

Our brief survey of the PTA, teachers' councils, advisory committees, school boards, small faculty groups, and faculty meetings seems to indicate that structural arrangements which are associated

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[31] J. M. Hughes, "The Attitudes and Preferences of Teachers and Administrators for School Supervision," *Northwestern Contributions to Education,* School of Education Series, No. 12, Evanston, Illinois: 1939, pp. 38–39.

participate have, however, dwindled with the advancing complexity of social life. Numerous social thinkers believe that participatory training, once well taken care of in home and community, is now almost completely neglected.[32] It is the school leader's responsibility to give conscious attention to providing opportunities for collaboration not only so that the advantages of participation will accrue to the school but also so that the personnel and other school groups will learn to collaborate. In order to accomplish this the school administrator because of position, especially, must know which methods are most desirable in terms of their relation to group sharing.

In choosing organizational procedures, the relative involvement of participation in the various methods should receive serious consideration. As a general rule, that leadership method is best which best utilizes group participation. Actually, there are no specific methods or procedures which are designed solely, or even primarily, to accomplish participation in the school. Some educational methods simply entail participation more than others. Some school situations provide more opportunity for and are more affected by participation than others. When two or more methods seem equally suited to an accomplishment, that method which gives greatest encouragement to participation or which involves most group sharing in its function should be given preference.

For instance, in choosing between two methods for conducting a school survey, other things being equal, that method which provides for personnel participation is more desirable than the method which provides for outside help to the virtual exclusion of participation by local personnel.

Giving priority to that method which is associated with participation is here emphasized because it is frequently contended that that method is best which is likely to achieve the desired end with the greatest certainty and in the least time and with minimum energy.

[32] A forceful exposition of how youth has been affected by this change is given in *Youth and the Future*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942, Chapter XVIII.

both the group and of the function and the mutual relation between the two should be evaluated.

METHODS

Since, in terms of human relations, participation is an essential component of the most desirable action by groups and since education is primarily a group activity, achieving participation ideally is an essential aim of the educational organization. Administrative and educational methods vary in their effectiveness in securing that kind of wide-scale, personal participation which is characterized by a full measure of ego involvement, personal satisfactions, and group realization of the full advantage resulting from the integration of all personal resources of the group. Conscious efforts, therefore, must be made to select those methods which will, in addition to furthering some direct end, also utilize shared participation in realizing that end.

Proficiency in participating as a member of a school group is something which has to be developed and can be developed only through practice, practice which is precise and which proceeds in a regular, approved school setting. Participation will be learned and capacities to participate will be developed only when procedures which include participation are selected to serve the educational and administrative functions.

Opportunity for experience in participation, within and without the school, is less common than it was in the earlier days of small communities and simply organized schools. Then participation was a natural part of face-to-face community relationships and the school was but an extension of the home and an accepted responsibility of all individuals directly concerned in the community. Nowadays public school teachers often have had little experience in shared participation, especially in school groups, before they become teachers. The human need to participate and the social need for the fruits of participation are as great as ever. Opportunities to

participation in an educational organization is somewhat like attempting to analyze the methodology of participation in a well-adjusted family. Participation in such a family is natural, customary, and extends to much that is important and much that is trivial. Mutual desires, mutual understandings, and mutual appreciation integrate the family into an effective, resourceful unit. It would be impossible to dissect the family's activities in order to isolate for examination the specifics of their participatory methods.

Because the specifics of what goes on in typical situations cannot, in fact, be isolated from the situations themselves, the study of methods for achieving participation in education is approached from a more or less indirect angle. Attention is directed to two specific, practical school situations which illustrate how group participation may work in an educational group. By noting the methods used by the administrator who had many methods in mind, who possessed a knowledge of standard procedures, who knew something about those aspects of social psychology which apply to his field, who had the resourcefulness to revise a method to make it applicable to a novel situation—the leader who was successful in achieving participation—and also by noting the methods used by the leader who did not achieve participation and who did not achieve through participation, we can get some light on methods and techniques which hold most promise for achieving participation.

The First Practical School Situation

The first practical school situation to be examined to get light on methods and procedures related to group participation involves an elementary school principal new to his position, the elementary school personnel, and interested public who all meet for the first time about four months after the opening of school.

One of the parents, a university professor of English who had made a special effort to locate his family in a small city near the university so that his daughter might receive the benefits of a small, neighborhood elementary school, writes his reactions to the meeting:

This is sound however only if the so-called "desired end" is conceived broadly and includes the achievement of collaboration and group action along with the more obvious accomplishments. An educational group in action must achieve through participation and must achieve participation. Only through participation do members of a personnel get a chance to give expression to their real differences and to profit by interaction.

One well-known public school superintendent has stated frequently that he shudders at the time wasted in those educational organizations where wide-scale participation is a consistent policy. He measures accomplishment by results which take no cognizance of the values which normally accrue from wide-scale participation with its intellectual stimulation and constructive group thinking. To him the belief that staff members should be provided with an opportunity to discover their talents, with encouragement to disclose them and with a strong desire to exploit them in group action is spurious. By following a group policy devoted to methods which ignore the potentialities of group participation he achieves results which are desirable mainly because they require the investment of least time and minimum energy. He seems unaware that he also achieves restricted thought, routine action, disinterest in human relationships, and a waste of potential group contribution. Actually, desire for economy in time and energy should not be allowed to blind any personnel member to the great value of providing for participation. In fact, from a long-term view, the methods which call for participation tend to be the methods which are most economical in the use of time and energy.

Showing definitely the application of a principle and demonstrating the implementation of a philosophy are especially difficult when attention is focused on administrative methods. If, in addition, one seeks to discover how the application of the principle and the implementation of a philosophy are related to achieving participation, the difficulties are increased because administrative methods are invariably designed to achieve ends which are apart from the achievement of participation as an end. Analyzing the methodology of

a procedure which they had worked out together with the principal. It might not be exactly what each desired but it would at least be something the entire group, including the principal, came to agree upon as a result of the interaction which results from participation.

Inasmuch as the principal in this case was new to the situation it was extremely important that he participate with the group either in working out or in acquainting himself with teaching and other procedures in current use. The personnel had its norms prior to his entrance into membership. If, in this case, he imposed his standard of work he actually did nothing to change these norms. If the teachers accepted his edict because of his position and authority and attempted to carry out his orders, it still was not their project. Under such circumstances two-way flow of communication and influence between the principal and the teaching personnel would be completely blocked and relations strained. Of course, if the teachers were attempting to teach in a way contrary to their own beliefs and philosophies, besides being unhappy, their teaching must have been made much less effective.

Assuming, for the moment, that the teaching procedure to which the father objected was not imposed upon the teachers but was the fruit of their own participation with the principal, what should one expect of a principal at such a public meeting? Because of traditional group structure, the entire group looked to the principal for leadership. Leadership was his special prerogative. Instead, then, of making arbitrary statements, could he have brought some measure of unity into the group by having one of the teachers, who might be expected to know more about the techniques of teaching reading to young children than either the principal or the English professor, explain his understandings about desirable procedures? Would the principal have been wise to encourage the parents to state their views on the teaching of reading in the primary grades? Might he have been a more effective leader if he had acknowledged that the parent's ideas were worthy of consideration and if he had

Kathy is in first grade and learning nothing at all, so far as I can see. My views on progressive education, to which . . . public schools are perversely and irrevocably committed, are not printable. Recently I attended a PTA meeting at which the new principal of Kathy's school spoke. He informed us that he had instructed the first, second, and third grade teachers that it was *not* their responsibility to teach their pupils how to read. Instead, they were to encourage self-expression, development of the imagination, relieve the children from emotional anxiety and frustration, and all the rest of the . . . that has been substituted in our time for the three R's and the eight parts of speech. I challenged him gently in the discussion period which followed, expressing my agreement with him that when a child turns up in the first grade with an emotional problem, that it is his, and therefore the teacher's, first problem, not learning how to read. But I suggested that learning how to read might itself provide a sound, if indirect means of solving such a problem. (There's no point in trying to argue with progressive educators that learning how to read is a good thing in itself; they don't believe it any more.) In return, I was treated to his choicest, though politely delivered, snorts: "traditional," "aaakkademick"! God knows I'm all for public schools for my kids, however, my slowly hardening pedantic arteries may be irritated by their "academic" deficiencies; and I take a dim view of the urbane molly-coddling that most of the private schools (which I can't afford anyhow) still dish out, whatever their claims to academic excellence. But I have no patience with a principal who practically orders his teachers not to teach.

Obviously the relations among the individuals concerned with the situation were unwholesome. If the new principal, in his speech before the PTA and in the discussion which followed and in the group planning which had preceded the meeting, had not ignored methods which utilize participation, how would the situation have differed and how would the relationships involved have been improved?

In the first place, of course, the principal would never inform the public that he had instructed first, second, and third grade teachers to follow any set procedure because he felt it was a desirable way to teach reading or anything else. If the primary teachers followed a more or less standard procedure in teaching reading, it would be

spicuously successful in leading in the solution of some poignant and serious problems and in improving personal relations in the school community, generally.

As a part of a plan of orientation and of a program of participation, the principal met with each of the home room groups and led in a fruitful discussion which revealed what the pupils felt were the greatest strengths and the main weaknesses of the school, the situations well cared for, and the most significant problems still unsolved. Subsequently a summary of what the home room groups had indicated was prepared and carefully studied—especially by the principal and the house directors. Then the home room meetings were repeated. This time the groups determined which of the unsolved problems were most serious and most urgently in need of attention. During the discussion it became clear that successful solution depended considerably upon the coöperation of certain individuals who were much concerned and who, by reason of information or influence, were in the best position to contribute. The solutions suggested by the home room groups included recommendations as to certain groups which should participate in the attack upon each specific problem: the pupils, the parents, the faculty, or some combination. In general, the recommendations which resulted from the home room group meetings were carried out with signal success.

Among the problems selected by the home room groups at their meetings was the problem of social clubs. These are clubs organized along the lines of national social fraternities which had been deeply entrenched in this high school over a long period of time. The principal met members of the social clubs and together they studied all aspects of the problem. As a group they recognized and delineated the nature of the harmful effects of the clubs and they recommended that the parents participate in solving the problem. Then, groups comprised of pupils, faculty, and parents—some of the parents had been members of the same social clubs during their own high school attendance—collaborated in an attack on the problem. After discussion and deliberation the participating group

directed the parents to the most up-to-date scientific information available on the subject? Should he have selected a method which provided for a follow-up including participation by representative parents and the teachers concerned and perhaps by outside experts, who would study the problem and participate in thorough discussion? By providing for study and the collaboration of all concerned might the group have solved the problem by arriving at a decision satisfactory to all? Might the principal, the teachers, and the parents all modify their opinions during this kind of participatory experience?

The successful leader knows methods which are favorable to participation and selects the best of these methods partly because participation and wholesome personal relations have a reciprocal association. He is as much concerned with relations as with answering questions. For maximum participation the leader must make it evident that the influence of each member of the group has an effect and that the contribution of each, even though in conflict, is desired. The new principal who imposes his ideas about methods of teaching reading on the primary teacher, who states his position arbitrarily at a group meeting, and succeeds in irritating at least one intelligent parent to the point where he produced the angry letter quoted, is an example of a school leader who just did not choose the appropriate methods of participation. It may be that he knew so little about methods which secure participation that he was devoid of ideas, and that what he did he did out of sheer desperation.

The Second Practical School Situation

The second school situation to be reviewed in an effort to gain an understanding of administrative methods which are related to achieving participation also involves a new principal. In this case the principal was new to a large suburban high school which is organized on a house plan, each house enrolling about 240 pupils with a home room director and a pupil counselor. He was con-

which are illustrated by the procedures of the two new principals. We have also reviewed certain structural arrangements in the school organization which are more or less desirable as aids in the achievement of personnel participation. We turn our attention now to certain activities which the personnel engage in as they proceed with participation. These activities: interview, discussion, and public relations programs, have received detailed and extensive treatment in numerous current writings. They are briefly surveyed here only so that we may judge their specific contribution to achieving participation in the educational organization.

Interview

An important specific administrative method for achieving participation is the interview which furnishes a medium for interaction usually between an administrator, a teacher, a pupil, or a parent and one other individual member of the educational group. Potentially the interview encourages sharing and mutual contribution and results in a mutual influence on attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and dispositions.

The interview has been used freely and has been refined as an instrument of research in social psychology. As used by the social psychologist [33] the technique has usually served as an instrument for eliciting definite kinds of response, such as is the case in opinion survey. When used by the school administrator for the purpose of achieving participation, the interview cannot be the same kind of technique as used by the social psychologists but must be modified to achieve participation and to become part of a specific school situation. An educational personnel may profit, however, from studying what the social psychologists have done toward developing the interview and by noting the uses they have made of it.

In the practical school situation each interview between an administrator and a staff member, between a staff member and a pupil

[33] For example of interview technique see Case 6, Ida Geneva and Case 7, William Fay in Hugh Cabot and Joseph A. Kahl, *Human Relations,* Vol. II, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 29–45.

agreed that the clubs were undesirable. They recommended that the clubs be abolished and that whatever was worthy in their functions be assumed by new or regular school organizations. They accepted a challenge to find new avenues to answer the social needs of the students. The recommendations of this parent-faculty-pupil group were carried out and not only was the problem of social clubs solved to the satisfaction of all but the various individuals who participated directly in reaching the solution felt responsible for the success of the new plans. They, especially the parents, had an increased sense of identification with the school. All enjoyed the satisfactions and values which normally accrue from successfully participating, under expert leadership, in the solution of serious, shared problems.

The same kind of participatory technique and follow-up to home room meetings was employed, with equal success, in attacking a number of other problems such as the problem of pupil-driven automobiles and certain lunchroom problems.

To say that the difference in relations in the two school situations described was the result of a difference in the choice of administrative methods made by the two principals involved would be to oversimplify the situation. Many other leadership factors were also influential in determining the outcomes. It is true, however, that the successful leader, in terms especially of personal relations, is the one who achieves group participation. He knows what the methods of achieving participation are and is skilled in their use. If the administrator ignores the consideration of whether achieving group participation is a part of the administrative method he selects, it is possible that he will choose a method devastating and far-reaching in its effects not only upon personal relations but upon group achievement also.

ACTIVITIES IN THE PROCESS OF PARTICIPATION

An administrator in an educational organization applies the technique, achieving participation through the use of certain methods

make an interview satisfactory. In the main, the advice seems to be directed at persons who are assumed to be unsuited in personality and training to participate through an interview. In the professional literature on administrator-teacher interview, for instance, the administrator is advised in terms of don'ts. He is told not to emphasize differences due to rank or salary, not to place a barrier such as a front office desk between himself and the teacher, not to rush the interview, not to let the interview lag, not to let the interview end without reaching a conclusion, not to let it end without planning a next step for the teacher, not to fail to convince the teacher that he is capable of taking the next step, not to fail to write a memorandum recording what was agreed and what transpired in the interview, not to get angry during the interview but if he does, not to show it. Teachers are given a similar list to guide them in interviews with parents. This kind of advice can do little to assist a sincere, sensible school administrator or teacher, particularly if the administrator or teacher views the interview as a kind of participation and a mutually significant experience.

Most of the advice is based upon questionable assumptions about the nature and value of interview. In fact, it seems to imply that a school administrator or a teacher must, at all times during an interview, be a kindly, emotionally perfectly controlled and colorless, convictionless manipulator of human beings and that the one who shares the interview with the teacher or administrator must be passive, gullible, and unresourceful as far as problem solving is concerned. A school principal, for instance, may have a higher rank, but during an interview he should in some way conceal it. He gets a higher salary but he must not dress better or drive a bigger car than those with whom he shares the interview. Rapport is something the principal must build as he would build a fire. Those who strive to achieve through the interview must behave in a way that either belies the fact that there are hierarchies in the school system or behave as though there is something evil about social differences and that they must, therefore, be camouflaged. So goes the current stream of advice!

or a parent, is a unit in a chain of varied and continuing person-to-person relationships. An interview for educational purposes is appropriate when it is a natural part of the school situation, when it is justified in terms of its potential contribution to the furtherance of the educational enterprise. When appropriate, the interview provides the school administrator and the teacher with an excellent opportunity to advance mutual understanding and to participate jointly in the solution of many and varied kinds of problems. Perhaps educators have made less use of the interview than its possibilities justify.

Since the educational interview is a participatory experience, interaction is a basic characteristic. The emphasis is, as the word implies, on an inter view—a mutual sight. An interview, except in regard to time and place, cannot be completely planned in advance. Nor can the direction it will take be accurately predicted. It *is*, again, nonlogical in character as also are the other methods of educational participation. When the interview achieves participation, interaction is fluid, mutuality results. Failure to recognize this, or to attempt to shape the interview by curbing interaction will inevitably frustrate the coöperating member and defeat the purpose of the interview. In a satisfactory interview, direction constantly undergoes modification. One party to the interview may have what are to him matters more important to discuss than were originally included in the theme of the interview. If the administrator is a party to the interview he will have in mind some things he wishes to learn about. So also does the other party—the teacher, the parent, or the pupil. The parties exchange views, give information as well as receive it. Both parties must be unrestricted in the free interchange of opinions.

Personal warmth and a sincere interest in mutual help are indispensable qualifications of the administrator who desires to achieve participation through interview. Attitudes play a part in shaping interviews. Hence, to attempt to point out the do's and don'ts of interview seems a waste of time. Much detailed advice has, however, been directed at the school personnel about what to do to

discussion more clearly than Dewey did in his book *How We Think*.[34] Others like Robert H. Thouless [35] and James H. McBurney and Kenneth G. Hance [36] have clarified the process but in most treatments discussion as a method of group thinking is approached in terms of the principles set forth by Dewey. It is rather well known that Dewey dealt with the general problem of training in thinking and he analyzed a complete act of thought into five logical steps: a felt difficulty, its location and definition, suggestions of possible solutions, development by reasoning of the bearings of the suggestion, further observation and experiment leading to its acceptance or rejection. These steps are as applicable to group thinking and group discussion as they are to the thinking process of an individual.

Benjamin Franklin recognized the value of discussion in the achievement of mutuality and group integration when he organized his famous Junto Club. The Club continued for about forty years and Franklin also attributed to it many values of self-improvement:

I had formed most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club for mutual improvement, which we called the Junto. We met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member in his turn should produce one or more queries on any point of morals, politics, or natural philosophy, to be discussed by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing on any subject that he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute or desire of victory; and to prevent warmth, all expressions of positiveness in opinions or direct contradiction were after some time made contraband and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties.

. . . the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics that then existed in the province, for our queries, which were read the week preceding their discussion, put us upon reading with attention on several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose; and here, too, we

[34] John Dewey, *How We Think*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1910.
[35] Robert H. Thouless, *How to Think Straight*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1944.
[36] James H. McBurney and Kenneth G. Hance, *The Principles and Methods of Discussion*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939.

Actually, if differences in rank and salary are obstacles to participation, the interview cannot overcome them. Only fundamental changes in organization can alter the situation. Inasmuch as hierarchies do exist in most educational organizations, and do create social distance, any two parties who have different levels of position within the school and who come together in an interview must make personality adjustments and mutual accommodations. Such adjustments, of course, go beyond the interview and may not be turned on at the beginning and off at the end of the interview. It seems futile for an administrator to attempt to compensate for whatever is wrong with social organization in general and his school organization in particular by making spurious arrangements destined to deceive an individual for purposes of sharing an interview. The front office desk and other evidences of differences in position will constitute no particular barrier to an interview if the interview is conducted by a school administrator who has a sincere desire to share the solution of problems with colleagues, who is willing to keep the channels of communication open both ways and to allow the direction that the interview takes to be equally flexible to the desires of both parties in the interview. Sentiments existing between the two persons engaged in interview do more to influence the outcomes of the interview than such things as carpets, desks, chairs, and differences in salary.

It is important to remember that the educational interview is a participatory experience and as such should provide for communication and interaction. There must be something to exchange views over, something for mutual interaction, and some reason why two persons should collaborate in arriving at a mutual view.

Discussion

As an experience in achieving participation, discussion cannot be overlooked, because discussion is *the* method of group deliberation. Discussion is an observable manifestation of a group studying and learning together, a group thinking out loud, a group interacting within itself. Perhaps no one has set forth the steps in group

Actually, it seems that to neglect discussion as a part of participation is to ignore a leadership challenge. Douglass writes further:

It is with some humility that it must be admitted that not a few teachers not only recognize this influence, but, unlike the medical profession, prostitute their professional activities in a brazen effort to play up to local opinion either for the purpose of self-advancement or because of lack of character sufficient for leadership.[39]

A review of the activities of school administrators who are acknowledged as outstandingly successful by the profession generally reveals that they, rather consistently, do employ the discussion technique. As an example, consider the superintendent of a school system which, over a period of ten years, made conspicuous all-round improvement. This particular superintendent lacks the kind of aggressiveness usually associated with executive success. He does not possess a great deal of physical energy. He does, however, have a marked ability to lead groups within the system and within the community to organize for full and complete discussion of many school problems. When present at such discussions his influence results from his timely advice and suggestions which are based obviously upon his wide knowledge of education, school affairs, and that community. He is an expert in leading a discussion and in participating in a discussion. The achievements of the school system are so consistently the result of group effort that, although he is greatly appreciated in the community, a minimum of limelight is focused upon his personal leadership prowess. Human relations with the broad educational group are of the best. The voters consistently approve bond issue proposals, conflicts between school and community are nonexistent, relations among the personnel are wholesome. No attempt is made specifically to allocate the responsibility or to determine where credit is due because the entire community, with the superintendent's able leadership, has shared in making the school and its community educationally successful.

Experience has shown that a leader like the one described, who

acquired better habits of conversation, everything being studied in our rules which might prevent our disgusting each other.[37]

When discussion is an experience in participation it is not just parliamentary debate and it is not discussion pursued in the spirit of what is known in slang as the "bull session." As an effective process of participation, discussion is characterized by slowness and caution. Individuals as a group counsel together, weigh proposals carefully before taking action. Discussion in participation is constructive, it fosters constructive reasoning and constructive critical analysis, it seeks to solve a problem, resolve a conflict, or formulate a policy. It involves a feeling of responsibility for the conclusion or consensus which may envision some action.

Educational leaders, superintendents especially, are alert to the fact that they have a responsibility to plan, inform, and coördinate a program which builds good school-community relationships. Despite the fact that skillful group discussion is vital to such a program, many school administrators either are not aware of the value of discussion or are not adept in employing it. Failure to use discussion, especially with community groups, is explained in statements like the following:

More and more in recent years school people responsible for formulation of school programs have made formal provision for consultation with parents and other lay individuals and groups in matters of curriculum. . . . Often, one or more lay individuals are members of committees appointed to study curriculum problems or to assist in preparing units of materials for instruction. . . . Sometimes the lay individuals are asked merely to sit in with professional groups and discuss curriculum problems and materials. The last named practice seems less likely to lead to unfortunate results which eventuate when lay people take their responsibilities too seriously and insist upon favorable consideration of their contributions even when they have little or no merit. These plans are also subject to frequent abuse by reason of the propensity of administrators and teachers to promote good will and interest in the schools . . . at the expense of the curriculum.[38]

[37] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, New York: A. L. Burt Company, p. 78.
[38] Harl R. Douglass, editor, *The High School Curriculum*, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1947, p. 130.

which a group may have a discussion but the discussion will be profitable only if the group is composed of individuals who are concerned with the topic, who will be affected by the solution to the problem or who are in a position to have influence or information which will help the group in its constructive discussion.

A topic which is not appropriate for school group discussion is a topic which gives embarrassing prominence to the work of one, or at best, of only a few members of the group. Likewise, problems which involve personalities or intimate matters which are personal —problems which concern individual children, or problems existing between given teachers and certain parents—should not be submitted to group discussion. This is not because members of the group may not be concerned that such problems be wisely solved and may not have worthy suggestions to contribute. They should not be selected for discussion because they tend to disconcert or embarrass individuals and to damage human relations. Ordinarily the interview is more appropriate to their solution.

Some topics are not appropriate for group discussion merely because it is understood that certain important problems shall be given serious discussion only by authorities ensconced high on the scalar chain. This means, for instance, that a board of education will never have a problem in selecting a topic for discussion because the topics for their discussions are implicit in their functions and their functions are broad. In a faculty meeting, however, faculty members are not permitted to discuss many topics which concern each member directly and upon which they have varying opinions either because the problems have already been settled with finality by someone in authority or because it is a known fact that faculty discussion could result in words which could have little effect. Even under expert leadership discussion which has no observable effect usually has some negative, although perhaps unobserved, effect upon personnel relations.

SELECTION OF THE GROUP. As mentioned above, in determining the topic for discussion the group which will do the discussing has to be decided. The topic must be suited to the group

is successful in capitalizing on discussion, discharges skillfully several rather specific responsibilities.

SELECTION OF THE TOPIC. In order to have a discussion, some topic about which there is a difference of opinion must be selected. For discussion effective in achieving participation the topic must be one which, through discussion, will lend itself to consensus and agreement. Differences in opinions and points of view, differences in personalities and in experiences all contribute to the variety, richness, and stimulation of the discussion. Discussion is not, however, mere controversy or verbal dispute. The topics may involve differences in value judgments but through group interaction they lend themselves to agreement.

It is the leader's responsibility to guide in the selection of the specific topic for the group discussion. He, the administrator or someone else functioning in the leadership role, may determine the topic for discussion as a result of group action but it is his responsibility to have it clearly in mind and to see that it is clear to each member of the discussion group.

Besides the controversial characteristic, the topic for discussion by a school group must have certain other definite qualities. It must be a topic appropriate in terms of the group which will discuss it. The topic must be one about which each member of the group has some real concern. When the entire personnel meets for discussion the problem should be one which affects the whole teaching force. When the community-wide school group, perhaps through representation, meets to discuss some problem, it should be a topic pertinent to the interests of the school citizens at large. The high school principal might appropriately meet with a group of parents to discuss such problems as the desirability of social clubs if they exist in the high school. A group of mathematics teachers might meet to discuss the relative merits of several textbooks for use in the beginning mathematics class. The principal of a high school might meet with a home room group to discuss certain matters of concern to the students in that home room. Curriculum revision, lunchroom management, beautifying the school grounds—all are topics about

vides a face-to-face setting. Faculty meetings can deteriorate into speaking forums if the room arrangements are more favorable to speaking than to deliberation. Public discussion may be discouraged at school board meetings by inappropriate room arrangements.

Discussion should also be planned with due regard to the time available, and in addition it should be recognized that the time of day also influences the quality of discussion. For instance, after-school meetings of the personnel proceed under difficulties. Unfortunately, to overcome this probably means hiring substitute teachers in order to have the meetings during the school day. In some school systems adjacent to teacher training institutions, student teachers have been given the responsibility for the pupils while during-the-school day faculty meetings are in session. In some school systems the children are dismissed for half a day to allow the faculty to meet during the day.

The conditions of time and place favorable to effective discussion are flexible and moderate, but in planning for a discussion, their importance should not be overlooked.

COÖRDINATION AND DIRECTION. After the appropriate topic, the suitable group, and favorable time and place arrangements are settled, the discussion gets under way. Then the leader's functions, during the discussion, are to coördinate the contributions of the group and to direct discussion toward the desired consensus.

In the earlier treatment of the organizing process it was pointed out that the process has two phases: the clarification and the action phases. As also pointed out, skilled direction and effective collaboration are necessary to achieve a proper balance in the proportion of time spent on clarification and on making the final decision concerning action. Discussion prematurely terminated by bringing a matter to a vote and reducing choice to for or against alternatives not only deprives the group of the advantage of maximum contribution but it curtails interaction which is important in personal relations. On the other hand, extension of discussion beyond the

and the group must be suited to the topic. In addition to the factors listed in the section above, the size of the group is a significant determining factor. The general picture of the nature of interaction in a discussion group changes as the size of the group increases or decreases.[40] As pointed out in previous chapters, teachers are more at home in small groups. Although homogeneity is not a requirement, the group must nevertheless share a unanimous interest and concern.

In order for the group to discuss effectively, the structure of authority in the organization must be such that certain powers and functions are placed in the hands of the discussion group. It thereby acts under responsibility. The group needs to deliberate and deliberation is a necessary complement of responsibility. Lawrence J. Henderson says: ". . . it is not merely experience of the world which changes and develops men in this way, but still more the practice of deciding and acting under the burden of responsibility for the consequences. . . . The man who has the habit of action under responsibility is deeply modified and differently oriented because of this experience. It is not too much to say that his whole organism is in a different state from that of a person who has not the habit of action under responsibility." [41]

SELECTION OF THE TIME AND PLACE. Favorable conditions of time and place have a direct bearing upon the quality of discussion the leader and the group can maintain. An appropriate room where members can talk directly and informally can do a great deal to encourage discussion, especially on the part of individuals who are shy or self-conscious. A classroom or a large auditorium may be a handicap to fluent discussion. Discussion seems to flourish best when the group is seated comfortably in a room appropriate as far as size and furnishings are concerned and which pro-

[40] For a summary of research on this problem see A. Paul Hare, "Interaction and Consensus in Different Sized Groups" in Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics*, Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1953, pp. 507–517.

[41] Lawrence J. Henderson, "Procedure in Science," in Hugh Cabot and Joseph A. Kahl, *Human Relations*, Vol. I, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 27.

usually have at its core the interaction of two or more persons in a joint effort to arrive at a solution to a problem. Like the other activities in participation, however, the public relations activities do rest upon the art of communication [42] and conceivably they can embrace the public as participants in the school situation. In a *Yearbook* of the American Association of School Administrators which is devoted to "Public Relations for America's Schools" we find this statement: ". . . Much can be accomplished if there is genuine teamwork on the part of educators and laymen—if public relations is a two-way process in which both school and public learn, one from the other." [43] However, in this same publication and in others which are designed to assist school leaders in their public relations by giving definite suggestions and advice on the utilization of specific media, there is little by way of suggestion which actually pertains to the achievement of participation.

In most public relations programs communication seems to be conceived as a process of telling the public about the schools, of getting the public to understand and to support the schools. Such aims are worthy. However, understanding and support, too, may be enhanced if the communication is at least to some significant extent conceived as a two-way process and a part of sharing, coöperating, and interacting in the participatory experience. When communication is so conceived the public relations program necessarily seeks to achieve actual participation of the public in planning and managing the schools.

It seems that school administrators are generally conscious of the need for including the public in school participation because, among other reasons, it is good public relations. However, in planning and executing a public relations program, the emphasis almost invariably is toward advertising and propaganda and little or no

[42] For full discussion see "Mass Media and Education," *Fifty-Third Yearbook*, National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1954.

[43] American Association of School Administrators, "Public Relations for America's Schools," *Twenty-Eighth Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1950, p. 8.

point of reasonableness and adequacy is not only wasteful of time but weakens the discussion and may be discouraging to the group. A vote is a political device and may be an unnecessary conclusion to a discussion. An expert leader will know when consensus has been reached. If unanimity seems impossible of achievement and if some action is envisioned as a result of the decision, the leader has the responsibility for deciding if a vote is needed and when it should be taken.

Group discussion implies a structurization in which one person assumes leadership. In many school discussion groups this is the administrator, in the classroom it is the teacher. It is the leader's function to be alert to the potentialities of the individuals in the group and to encourage maximum contribution in terms of these potentialities. This may mean drawing out a reticent individual and curbing a verbose one.

The discussion leader should have an enthusiastic interest in the discussion and feel personally responsible for the success of the group in reaching consensus. However, he will not be an active participant. He will be careful not to state his opinions because his position gives disproportionate weight to his opinions. Because his chief function is to encourage the flow of discussion among the group he will give information and make available his knowledge only when it is requested. He will attempt to give equal time and encouragement to individuals defending all sides of the question.

In directing the discussion toward agreement the leader will have the topic under discussion clearly in his own mind and will keep it before the group. He will also keep the focus of group attention on the specific point under discussion. This may involve occasionally rephrasing or summarizing contributions made to the discussion and perhaps restating the immediate point and relevant considerations.

Public Relations Program

The public relations program of the school, as an experience in achieving participation, unlike interview and discussion, does not

as in interview and discussion, must be a two-way affair. It is the kind of direct communication which involves sharing and identification. It is the kind of communication George H. Mead writes of:

The ideal of human society is one which does bring people so closely together in their interrelationships, so fully develops the necessary system of communications, that the individuals who exercise their own peculiar functions can take the attitudes of those whom they affect. The development is not simply a matter of abstract ideas, but is a process of putting one's self in the place of the other person's attitude, communicating through significant symbols. Human communication takes place through such significant symbols, and the problem is one of organizing a community which makes this possible. . . . If communication can be carried through and made perfect, then there will exist the kind of democracy to which we have referred, in which each individual would carry just the response in himself that he knows he calls out in the community. That is what makes communication in the significant sense the organizing process in the community.[46]

A public relations program which is deliberately planned to do more than inform the public and enlist the public as supporters must contain definite steps to include the public in participation. How this can be achieved will depend, in part, upon the community and the experience and skill the public has developed in participation. It may be achieved through active coöperation with pertinent lay organizations in the community, particularly as previously discussed, through the PTA groups. Whatever the specific means, it is a mistake to conceive of a public relations program as something which does not include public participation in the schools. The wider aims of such a public relations program provide a definite leadership challenge to the school personnel.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of the technique, achieving participation, like the anal-

[46] George H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1934, p. 327.

emphasis is directed toward participation. A final paragraph in one of the statements in the same official *Yearbook* quoted above gives this advice:

> Virtually every news story, radio broadcast, and other interpretative medium is used to achieve some immediate goal. However, in developing the school's public relations program the long-range view must not be overlooked. Public understanding and support come from continued efforts.
>
> One successful experience provides the foundation for succeeding devices and technics. It is important, therefore, that the results of each endeavor be watched carefully, that the elements of strength and weakness be identified, and that the results achieved in one instance become the basis of succeeding steps. A radio series not successful because of an inconvenient listening time should be discontinued and efforts directed into other avenues, such as the preparation of materials for regular news casts, or the development of a strong speakers' bureau. Likewise, if the local newspaper cannot print long feature stories, school news releases should be prepared in brief form so that they will be used.[44]

Achieving public participation in carrying on the work of the school requires the discovery or invention of modes of communication which provide for a two-way current and which allow for expressions of the wants and desires of all individuals who make up the various school publics. This is not easy, as Gordon W. Allport points out:

> Dewey's picture of the ineffective function of democracy is realistic and sorrowful. Probably few will question its correctness, and all believers in democracy will subscribe to his proposed educational remedies. He is never more convincing than in his repeated demonstration that the improvement of the methods of debate, discussion and deliberation are necessary for the support of democracy. Each public must become a participant public, every member helping to shape its destiny. Becoming active within the publics to which we belong, we find our own well being.[45]

Effective communication through the public relations program

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 304.
[45] Gordon Allport in *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, Paul Arthur Schilpp, editor, The Library of Living Philosophers, Vol. I, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1939, p. 286.

organization, if we have a full realization of the essentiality of wholesome personnel relations to maximum educational achievement, and if we will attempt to improve our organizational activities in line with what we believe to be best for personnel relations, we will demonstrate marked and significant progress.

yses of observation and evaluation, indicates a direct and highly significant relationship between the way an organizational technique is utilized and the quality of group feeling which exists among the personnel of an educational organization. It has become increasingly clear that, in connection with the discharge of evaluation, observation, or any other organizational function, how effectively the group participates will be a strong determinant of educational success—educational success conceived as including success in promoting wholesome human relations within the school organization. Achieving participation must therefore be one of the expressly stated goals of practically every organizational activity, certainly of those which promise to have the most direct and crucial effect upon the welfare of the personnel.

Full utilization of all individual capacities through sharing is the organizational avenue to developing richer personalities, to identifying members of the personnel with the organization, to achieving group integration. It is likewise the avenue to greatest educational achievement. It should be kept in mind, in educational administration, that participation is substantially a nonlogical phenomenon. Participation cannot, by its very nature, be encompassed within the operation of rigid, logical codes.

Increasing human capacity for working together is the most natural way to improve human relations. Because of the very nature of its functions, the educational organization should be one of the first among all social organizations to exhibit desirable ways of working together. Seemingly, we need to worry very little about man's ability to increase his material efficiency. The critical need is to increase the human capacity for working together. Organizational techniques furnish one of the keys to the realization of that objective.

As pointed out at the outset of our study, the personnel of every educational organization earnestly desire to achieve maximum educational results. If we are alert to the personnel and human relations involvement in all that we do within the educational

Selected Bibliography

References have been selected to furnish the reader with sources of current thought and opinion on some of the problems and issues discussed in the text. It is assumed that the reader is acquainted with basic background material found in standard texts in such fields as social psychology, sociology, and school administration. If additional reading in these areas is desired adequate references are readily located.

Just as each chapter of the book must be read as a part of the entire treatment and no one section is complete within itself, the classification of bibliographical materials under various chapter headings is suggestive only and is not intended to imply a limitation of application to one area. In fact, the references relative to the administrative techniques of observation and evaluation are so closely related that references in these two fields have been classified under a joint heading.

Brief annotations are added in cases where the title of the book or article does not give an adequate indication of the bearing of the material on our problem.

CHAPTER 1
IMPROVING HUMAN RELATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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> Traces the origin and growth of academic freedom from earlier times to present. An analysis of the problem of freedom in teaching.

Kennelly, Edward F. "Human Relations in Personnel Administration for Education." *Education,* Vol. 75 (December, 1954), pp. 214–217.

> A superintendent of a large school system advocates training and study in the area of human relations as a precedent to building better human relations in educational organization.

Oppenheimer, J. Robert. *The Open Mind.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955. Pp. 146.

> Eight lectures devoted to the scientific method. The last lecture deals with the question of the application of scientific method to the solution of social problems. The author doubts that the method of science is applicable in the social field. For instance, the opportunity to verify results is lacking, social experiments are never repeated, and political decisions are final.

Ramseyer, John A. and Harris, Lewis E. "Social Science Research Applied to School Administration." *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 10 (1954), pp. 40–48.

> An amplification of the kind of research method suitable to systematic study of school administration.

Spaulding, Willard B. "Academic Freedom." *Progressive Education,* Vol. 29 (February, 1951), pp. 111–117.

Van Til, William A. and others. "Research on Human Relations and Programs of Action" *Review of Educational Research,* Vol. 23 (October, 1953), pp. 285–385.

> A tersely stated review of the results of recent research.

CHAPTER 2
PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

Bartky, John A. *Administration as Educational Leadership.* Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1956. Pp. 250.

> Chapters III, IV, and VI deal, respectively, with "The Organization and the Leader," "The Organization's Culture," and "The Dynamics of Organization."

Theory. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1953. Pp. 642.

A summary of research and research theory in human relations.

Conrad, Richard A. "A Sociological Approach to Public School Administration." *Educational Administration and Supervision,* Vol. 38 (November, 1952), pp. 385–392.

The human relations approach encompasses sociological considerations.

Corey, Stephen M. *Action Research to Improve School Practices.* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953. Pp. xii + 161.

A criticism of scientific research. Advocacy of a more practical approach.

Corey, Stephen M. "Action Research in Education." *Journal of Educational Research,* Vol. 47 (January, 1954), pp. 375–380.

In defense of the kind of research known as action research or research by the everyday educational practitioner.

Denemark, George W. "Human Relations: Neighborhood, Nation, World." *Educational Leadership,* Vol. 10 (February, 1953), pp. 274–276.

Wholesome human relations can be achieved through training. Training individuals, however, is handicapped because of a dearth of pertinent research to provide direction.

Esser, Martin. "What Does Academic Freedom Mean for Elementary and Secondary Teachers?" *Educational Leadership,* Vol. 9 (January, 1952), pp. 237–240.

Festinger, Leon and Katz, Daniel, editors. *Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences.* New York: Dryden Press, 1953, pp. 1–12.

Points out some difficulties in behavioral research.

Foshay, Arthur W. "Action Research as Imaginative Hindsight." *Educational Research Bulletin,* Vol. 34, No. 7 (October 12, 1955). Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, The Ohio State University, pp. 169–171.

Argues that existing educational research has little intrinsic value for the practitioner.

Good, Carter V. and Scates, Douglas E. *Methods of Research.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953. Pp. viii + 920.

An extensive treatment of research methods and interpretation of research results in the fields of psychology, sociology, and education. Deals with methods of survey, questionnaire, interview, observation, and appraisal. Complete reference material in footnotes. A complete, briefly annotated bibliography.

Co-operation and Research." *The School Executive*, Vol. 74 (June, 1955), pp. 70–83.

Redfield, Robert. *The Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. 182.
> Explores how scientists study a small group or community. Attempts to answer the inevitable question, "Can one describe a human community adequately from the viewpoints of its members and at the same time maintain a detachment sufficient to make the description meaningful for scientists?" A penetrating analysis.

Schmidt, Warren H. and Buchanan, Paul C. *Techniques that Produce Teamwork*. New London, Connecticut: Arthur C. Crofts Publications, 1954. Pp. iv + 76.
> Outlines a theory of college administration designed to promote good human relations.

CHAPTER 3

ORGANIZATION IN OPERATION

Bartky, John A. *Supervision as Human Relations*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1953. Pp. 308.
> A textbook on school supervision which emphasizes that solving the problems of human relations is fundamental to success in school supervision.

Broom, Leonard and Selznick, Philip. *Sociology*. Evanston: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1955. Chapter VII.

Sherif, Muzafer and Sherif, Carolyn W. *Groups in Harmony and Tension —An Integration of Studies on Intergroup Relations*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. Pp. 316.
> A review of the backgrounds to human relationships written from the point of view of social psychology.

Stevenson, Adlai E. "Party of the Second Part." *Harpers Magazine*, Vol. 212 (February, 1956), pp. 31–34.
> A political statesman shows why criticism is necessary in the promotion of needed change. Defends criticism because it is both a symbol and a hallmark of a free society.

Thelen, Herbert A. *Dynamics of Groups at Work*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. 370.
> Chapter II, "Developing the School Through Faculty Self-Training"; Chapter V, "Training for Group Participation," and Chapter VI, "Effective Meetings, Principles, and Procedures," also Chapter IV, "Group Responsibility and Individual Autonomy."

Beggs, Walter K. "The Modern School's Community Role." *The School Executive*, Vol. 75 (December, 1955), pp. 19–21.

 The best communities are those that achieve the best coördination of their total resources. The school coördinates the many educational resources.

Blau, Peter M. *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy: A Study of Interpersonal Relations in Two Government Agencies.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xi + 269.

 From a study contrasting interpersonal relations in two government agencies certain conclusions are made which are applicable to educational organizations.

Brookover, Wilbur B. *A Sociology of Education.* New York: American Book Company, 1955. Chapters VII, VIII, and IX.

 A study of human relations in the school. Holds that the patterns of the school are relatively persistent and that there are permanent patterns of organization and expected behavior. Deals with teachers' roles in the community. Covers such questions as status, rewards, and varied roles.

Campbell, Clyde M. "A Democratic Structure to Further Democratic Values." *Progressive Education*, Vol. 30 (November, 1952), pp. 25–29.

 Discusses how structure must be viewed if it is to afford teachers, citizens, and other personnel opportunities to participate.

Campbell, Clyde M. "Human Relations Techniques Useful in School Administration." *The American School Board Journal*, Vol. 130 (June, 1955), pp. 31–32.

 Shows how human relations techniques are inextricably joined with particular administrative theory.

DeHuszar, George. *Practical Applications of Democracy.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945. Pp. 120.

 Presents democratically promising innovations in ways of working together.

Havighurst, Robert J. "The Governing of the University." *School and Society*, Vol. 79 (March 20, 1954), pp. 81–86.

 Discusses how the nature of control may be influenced by the support of universities by business.

Mosher, William E., Kingsley, J. Donald, and Stahl, O. Glenn. *Public Personnel Administration.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. Pp. 652.

 Treats of the broad problems of personnel administration, including the evolution of hierarchy, the problem of human relations, leadership, and resulting morale.

Ramseyer, John A., *et al.*, "Improving Educational Leadership through

Halpin, Andrew W. The Leadership Behavior and Leadership Ideology of Educational Administrators and Aircraft Commanders." *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 25 (Winter, 1955), pp. 18–32.
    Contrasts in ideology.

Hilliard, Albert Leroy. *The Forms of Value*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. xvi + 343.
    An analysis of values and their influences upon human behavior. Clarifies the nature of goals. For the critical student.

Laird, Donald A. and Laird, Eleanor C. *The New Psychology for Leadership*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956. Pp. 226.
    Application of psychological principles to industry using the basic findings from twenty-two research centers.

Linder, Ivan H. "The Secondary Principal and Staff Morale." *The American School Board Journal*, Vol. 131 (October, 1955), pp. 25–27.
    Discusses how morale improves where principals directly attack the problem of improving their own relations with the staff.

Lindgren, Henry Clay. *Effective Leadership in Human Relations*. New York: Hermitage House, 1954. Pp. 287.
    A psychologist analyzes the older and the newer concepts of leadership.

Maier, Norman R. F. *Principles of Human Relations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1952. Pp. 43–172.
    Discussion methods; role playing; role playing in larger groups. Deals with applications of principles of human relations to industry.

Morris, Richard T. and Seeman, Melvin. "The Problem of Leadership: an Interdisciplinary Approach." *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 61 (September, 1950), pp. 149–155.
    Understanding human relationships cuts across lines of the various social disciplines.

Pierce, Truman M., Merrill, E. C. Jr., Wilson, Craig, and Kimbrough, Ralph B. *Community Leadership for Public Education*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1955. Pp. 312.
    The unique place of the school administrator in the leadership structure. Some guides to leadership action.

Pillard, Matthew J. "The Study of Leadership." New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.
    A mimeographed, annotated bibliography.

Ramseyer, John A., Harris, Lewis E., Pond, Millard Z., and Wakefield, Howard. *Factors Affecting Educational Administration*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1955. Pp. 141.
    A careful attempt through research to study the factors affecting administrative behavior.

Wilson, Logan. "Academic Administration: Its Abuses and Uses." *Bulletin American Association of University Professors*, Vol. 41 (Winter, 1955), pp. 684–692.

    Points out how the administration of an institution of higher learning can be such as to foster good human relations. Also points out the inappropriateness of the management concept of school administration at the higher levels of education.

CHAPTER 4

INTERPRETATION OF ROLE

Anderson, Vivienne and Davies, Daniel R. *Patterns of Educational Leadership.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956, Chapters IX and VIII.

    Case studies in human relationships of school administrators. Emphasis on training at in-service and pre-service levels.

Brogan, D. W. *Politics in America.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. Pp. 467.

    In discussing machines and bosses shows how organization actually functions. Points out some effects of politics on public schools. Discusses the supreme court as educator.

Campbell, Clyde M., editor. *Practical Applications of Democratic Administration.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. Pp. 325.

    Descriptions by various writers of the use of democratic school administration procedures.

Fowlkes, John Guy. "The Meaning of Leadership." *The Nation's Schools*, Vol. 42 (November, 1948), pp. 25–27.

    Discusses the administrator's responsibilities after policies have become accepted.

Frankel, Charles. *The Case for Modern Man.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. Pp. 45–48, 93–99.

    Sets forth the central theses upon which a liberal conception of philosophy rests. Analyzes the problem of freedom in terms of a liberal philosophy of history. Many sections of the book are pertinent to the problems discussed in this book.

French, Sidney J. *Accent on Teaching.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. Pp. 287–296.

    Role of administrator in encouraging improvement of teaching at higher levels.

Gouldner, Alvin Ward. *Studies in Leadership and Democratic Action.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. Pp. 736, xvi.

Summary of detailed report on the attitudes of Detroiters toward their city obtained by the method of interview. Suggestive of techniques for the study of attitudes of groups.

Lane, Howard and Beauchamp, Mary. *Human Relations in Teaching—The Dynamics of Helping Children to Grow.* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. Pp. 353.

A text on interrelationships within the classroom. An interpretation of the basic role of the school.

Lippitt, Ronald. *Training in Community Relations.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949. Pp. xiv + 286.

An aid to those who believe training in human relations will be of some help. Emphasis is on interrelationships between races.

CHAPTER 6

INDIVIDUAL ADJUSTMENT

Berrien, Frederick Kenneth. *Comments and Cases on Human Relations.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. Pp. xi + 500.

Sets forth a positive approach to the settlement of human conflicts. Charts a pathway to improvement in the area of human relations. Includes bibliography.

Brodinsky, B. P. "New Patterns in Citizen-School Relations." *The School Executive,* Vol. 75 (January, 1956), pp. 19–20.

That the ethics of man-to-man relationships are essential to true success is the "deeper lesson" schoolmen must learn.

Brownell, Baker. *The Human Community.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

Chapter 6 deals with education and the community. Shows how educational personnel may encourage withdrawal rather than actual participation and how the school creates values only when it encourages participative living.

Hullfish, Gordon, editor. *Educational Freedom in an Age of Anxiety.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. Pp. xviii + 229.

Discusses the various aspects of the problem of control and use of authority as related to adjustment.

Lewin, Kurt. *Resolving Social Conflict.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. Pp. xvii + 230.

A topological psychologist who believed that social forces were real in the sense that they have magnitude, direction, and points of origin and who thought in the language of constructs, gives a penetrating analysis of the manner in which social conflicts may be resolved. Technical.

Tipton, James. "Administrators Can Clear or Obstruct the Way Toward Good Human Relations." *Education*, Vol. 68 (November, 1947), pp. 134–141.

Turner, Ralph A. "Role-Taking, Role Standpoint, and Reference Group Behavior." *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 41 (January, 1956), pp. 316–328.

    A sociologist's attempt to clarify the meaning and usefulness of the concept of "role taking." Technical.

Tyler, Ralph W. "The Leadership Role of the School Administrator in Curriculum and Instruction." *Elementary School Journal*, Vol. 54 (December, 1953), pp. 200–209.

    An interpretation of the administrator's role after the personnel has participated in formulation of policy.

Weber, C. A. and Weber, Mary E. *Fundamentals of Educational Leadership*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. P. 279.

    Deals with the nature of educational leadership in a democratic society and discusses participation in policy formation.

Webster, Bayard. "The Fall and Rise of the University of Maryland." *Harpers Magazine*, Vol. 213 (October, 1956), pp. 64–68.

    Institutional leadership with political method.

Willey, Gilbert S. "Organizational Blocks to Creative Leadership." *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 6 (February, 1949), pp. 276–279.

Yauch, Wilbur A. *Improving Human Relations in School Administration*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949. Pp. ix + 299.

    Deals primarily with the problems of leadership encountered in the elementary schools. Concrete applications to school management.

CHAPTER 5
SENTIMENTS AND ATTITUDES

Bey, Douglas R. "A Further Study in School Organization." *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 37 (February, 1956), pp. 217–221.

    An attempt to subject organizational characteristics to statistical analysis. Concludes that administrator must be aware of attitudes and feelings of his colleagues, the teaching personnel, and other school personnel.

Hare, Paul, Borgatta, Edgar F., and Bales, Robert F. *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955. Pp. 554.

    Procedures in small groups. Some generalizations.

Kornhauser, Arthur. *Attitudes of Detroit People Toward Detroit*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952. Pp. 37.

Beauchamp, George A. *Planning the Elementary School Curriculum.* New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1956. Pp. 260–273.

> Presents evaluation as a process and suggests some techniques and devices that might be used in the elementary school.

Cocking, Walter D. "An Appraisal of School Administration." *The School Executive,* Vol. 72 (April, 1953). Editorial.

> The editor of the magazine sees human relations as the vital element in successful school administration.

Cunningham, Ruth, Applegate, Stanley and Hilliard, Pauline. "These Changes Helped." *Educational Leadership,* Vol. 7 (April, 1950), pp. 449–452.

> Teachers evaluate administration. The changes that counted most were those that had a close bearing upon improving human relations.

Editorial Board. "Evaluating Program and Performance." *Adult Leadership,* Vol. 1 (April, 1953), p. 11.

> An issue devoted to evaluation of group procedures.

Herrold, Kenneth F. "Evaluation and Research in Group Dynamics." *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* Vol. 10 (Autumn, 1950), pp. 492–504.

> Discusses the problem of evaluation in the field of human relations.

Johns, R. L. "How Do You Rate as a Democratic School Administrator?" *The School Executive,* Vol. 72 (November, 1952), pp. 50–51.

> Analyzes the administrator's function in terms of his success in human relations.

Lobdell, Lawrence O. "The Rewards of Merit." *The School Executive,* Vol. 75 (September, 1955), pp. 56–57.

> A principal makes his case against salary schedules which do not recognize a place for the rating of teachers.

Miller, Charles S. "Selecting a Superintendent." *The Nation's Schools,* Vol. 56 (August, 1955), pp. 40–42.

> Use of elementary school committee and secondary school committee to evaluate and help select the new superintendent.

Moore, Harold E. and Walters, Newell B. *Personnel Administration in Education.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955. Pp. 476.

> A specialized text written primarily for school superintendents who must employ new teachers, orient them to the school and community, administer salary scales, and do many other things that seriously affect the welfare of the personnel.

Orton, Don A. "A New Approach to Merit Rating." *The Nation's Schools,* Vol. 56 (July, 1955), pp. 70–71.

> A committee works on the problem following a 1953 mandate of a

MacIver, Robert M. *Academic Freedom in Our Time.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. xiv + 329.

Exposes the forces that endanger the first of all freedoms—the freedom of the mind. A study of the wave of intolerance which threatens the freedom to teach.

Price, Hugh G. "The Role of Administration in Excellent Teaching." *Junior College Journal,* Vol. 24 (September, 1953), pp. 37–42.

The role of the administrator in encouraging feelings of security among the personnel.

Robinson, Bruce B. "Emotional Problems in the Administration of Educational Personnel." *Education,* Vol. 75 (December, 1954), pp. 228–232.

A medical man, from observation and from working as head of a child guidance program in a large school system, draws some conclusions about emotional problems among members of the personnel and about their possible causes.

Seeger, Martin L. "A 20-year Sampling of Teacher Attitudes." *The School Executive,* Vol. 75 (December, 1955), pp. 46–48.

Shows that no fundamental changes have taken place in thirty years to change the picture.

Stanley, William O., Smith, B. Othaniel, Benne, Kenneth D., and Anderson, Archibald W. *Social Foundations of Education.* New York: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1956. Chapter XII and pp. 63–64.

Effects of lack of unanimity on the part of school publics with respect to the role of the school. Nature of conflict over institutional goals. Contrasting conceptions of the social role of the school.

Thomason, Calvin Cornelius and Clement, Frank A. *Human Relations in Action.* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954. Pp. xiv + 225.

Cases in dealing with people. Applications to technology. Affords a viewpoint.

CHAPTER 7

THE ORGANIZATIONAL TECHNIQUE: OBSERVATION

and

CHAPTER 8

THE ORGANIZATIONAL TECHNIQUE: EVALUATION

American Association of School Administrators. "Staff Relations in School Administration." *Thirty-third Yearbook.* Washington, 1955.

Chapter X deals with evaluation of staff relationships.

Biddle, William Wishart. *The Cultivation of Community Leaders.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. Pp. 203.

    A comprehensive treatise of community leadership with concrete illustrations.

Charters, W. W. Jr. "Person-to-Person Influence." *The Nation's Schools,* Vol. 56, pp. 49–52.

    A discussion of "structures of influence."

Chase, Stuart, in collaboration with Chase, Marian. *Roads to Agreement.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. Pp. xiii + 250.

    Descriptions of different ways of working in successful groups. An outgrowth of the author's *The Proper Study of Mankind.*

Dreiman, David B. *How to Get Better Schools.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. Pp. ix + xv + 267.

    Detailed account of activities of the National Citizens' Commission for the public schools.

Editorial Board. "Citizens Participate." *Educational Leadership,* Vol. 9 (February, 1952).

    An issue devoted to the subject of how citizens can participate in appraising and evaluating the results of their schools.

Editorial Board. "Citizens Committees in Action." *The School Executive,* Vol. 71 (January, 1952).

    Issue devoted entirely to a discussion of intelligent participation by the school publics.

Emrick, E. C. "Teacher-Administrator Cooperation at Brentwood High School." *The American School Board Journal,* Vol. 123 (July, 1951), p. 23.

    Describes how teachers worked with the administrator in the management of a high school.

Haiman, F. S. *Group Leadership and Democratic Action.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1951. Pp. vii + 309.

    A handbook for those engaging in and conducting group discussion. A comprehensive bibliography.

Illinois Bell Telephone Company. *Human Relations in Commercial Operation.* Chicago: Illinois Bell Telephone Company, Commercial Department, 1949. Pp. 342 + 12 exhibits.

    What one commercial organization has prepared to aid in training to promote good morale. Part IV deals with the subject of participation.

Johnston, Joseph M. "Principals Ought to Teach Too." *The American School Board Journal,* Vol. 130 (April, 1955), pp. 38–39.

    The high school principal who teaches a class may improve his re-

special session of the Utah state legislature. Preliminary report stated, "We do not yet know whether merit rating for Utah public educators is practical."

Schwartz, Morris S. and Schwartz, Charlotte Green. "Problems in Participant Observation." *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 40 (January, 1955), pp. 343–353.

> The research shows that the observer's experience, awareness, and personality affect the observer's observation, that anxiety and bias are sources of distortion.

Tomlinson, Loren R. "Recent Studies in the Evaluation of Teaching." *Educational Research Bulletin*. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, the Ohio State University, Vol. 34, No. 7 (October 12, 1955), pp. 172–186, 196.

> A careful and painstaking review to the present. Shows that minor, independent research has led to little and that, if evaluation is to be made, the next steps must be toward coördinated, longitudinal studies involving many types of teachers, many types of situations, and teachers at various stages of professional development. Reveals the problem to be very perplexing. Of value to the one who wishes to become acquainted with the many and varied kinds of investigations.

Yeager, William A. *Administration and the Teacher*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. Chapter XIV.

> Discusses evaluating the teacher and his work. "Since the morale of the teaching personnel is of much significance in the success of an educational program, instruments developed or procedures used should be directed toward its improvement. To this end group acceptance of the means used and outcomes reached may be one of its most desirable characteristics."

CHAPTER 9

THE ORGANIZATIONAL TECHNIQUE: ACHIEVING PARTICIPATION

American Association of School Administrators. "School Board–Superintendent's Relationships." *Thirty-Fourth Yearbook*. Washington, D.C., 1956.

> Chapter III discusses the role of the superintendent in the school system.

Anderson, Walter A. "Democratic Group Practices—Key to Improvement." *The School Executive*, Vol. 70 (April, 1951), pp. 54–55.

> Suggestions and helpful bibliography on group processes.

lems." *The American School Board Journal*, Vol. 132 (January, 1956), pp. 47–49.

> Shows how staff and lay coöperation brought practical results as well as improved relations.

Roethlisberger, F. J. *Management and Morale*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. xv + 194.

> A series of lectures by the author with a foreword by Elton Mayo. In the foreword Mayo analyzes why problems of human relations constitute a field for serious study. The author develops a careful analysis of ways of thinking about coöperative phenomena. The materials are written for industrial management students but have general application.

Roseborough, Mary E. "Experimental Studies of Small Groups." *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 50 (July, 1953), pp. 275–303.

Shane, Harold G. and McSwain, E. T. *Evaluation and the Elementary Curriculum*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1951. Pp. xiv + 477.

> Deals with curriculum evaluations. Touches upon human relations implications when personnel and community are involved.

Shane, Harold G. and Yauch, Wilbur A. *Creative School Administration in Elementary and Junior High Schools*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1954. Pp. 566.

> Describes personal relationships—school, personnel, and community.

Strodtbeck, F. L. and others. "Small Group Research." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 19 (December, 1954), pp. 651–781.

> Research findings which are applicable to the problem of working in small groups.

Strodtbeck, F. L. and Hare, A. P. "Bibliography of Small Group Research from 1900 through 1953." *Sociometry*, Vol. 17 (May, 1954), pp. 107–178.

> Gives 1407 items pertaining to this subject.

Yeager, W. Hayes and Utterback, William E., editors. "Communication of Social Action." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1947. Pp. 183.

> Devoted to a discussion of the various aspects of social communication. Sixteen authors, each dealing with a special phase.

lations with fellow teachers because he faces the same problems they face.

Kelley, Earl C. and Rasey, Marie I. *Education and the Nature of Man.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. Pp. 209.

> Values that accrue to individuals from participation. Philosophical.

Knowles, William H. *Personnel Management: A Human Relations Approach.* New York: American Book Company, 1955. Pp. 482.

> Deals with industrial morale. Conclusions are interesting and generally applicable.

Larsen, Roy E. "Laymen at Work." *The School Executive,* Vol. 75 (January, 1956), pp. 48–49.

> Tells how the citizens' committee movement continues to go forward.

McBurney, James H. and Hance, Kenneth G. *Discussion in Human Affairs.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. Pp. viii + 432.

> A textbook relative to group discussion with suggestions of the effects upon human relations.

Merton, Richard K., Fiske, Marjorie, and Kendall, Patricia. *The Focused Interview.* New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1952. Pp. xxv + 202.

Metcalf, Henry C. and Urwick, L., editors. *Dynamic Administration—The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940. Pp. 314.

> A collection of lectures on business management. Chapter X discusses the psychology of consent and participation.

Mooney, James D. and Reiley, Allan C. *The Principles of Organization.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939.

> Chapter 3 gives a clear cut explanation of the scalar principle of organization. ". . . the scalar form that defines and assigns every function is antecedent to all functions." P. 24.

Moore, H. E. "Staff Participation in Policy Making and Planning in Large City School Systems." *American School Board Journal,* Vol. 123 (July, 1951), p. 13.

> Organization must provide avenues of expression for the teaching personnel if it is to have a say.

Morphet, Edgar L. and others. "Citizen Cooperation for Better Public Schools." *Fifty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* Part I. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xvii + 304.

> Delineates paths to sounder participatory practice.

Ring, Carlyle G. "Cooperation Solves Jamestown's School Building Prob-

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